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M. dear Sister Jane July 1-5
with Emily's affect. love

# Cambridge

3 . 330 / 7

in the

# Seventeenth Century.

PART I.

## NICHOLAS FERRAR.

*Hinc lucem et pocula sacra.*

Cambridge:
PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
AND SOLD BY MACMILLAN & CO.
1855.

# NICHOLAS FERRAR.

## TWO LIVES

*BY HIS BROTHER JOHN*

AND

*BY DOCTOR JEBB.*

Now first Edited with Illustrations

BY

J. E. B. MAYOR, M.A.

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Cambridge:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

AND SOLD BY MACMILLAN & CO.

1855.

103031

*FOR if that learning's rooms to learned men*
*Were as their heritage distributed,*
*All this disordered thrust would cease. For when*
*The fit were called, the unworthy frustrated,*
*These would be shamed to seek, those to be unsought*
*And, staying their turn, were sure they should be sped.*

*Then would our drooping academies, brought*
*Again in heart, regain that reverend hand*
*Of lost opinion, and no more be thought*
*Th' unnecessary f rnish of the land;*
*Nor (discouraged with their small esteem)*
*Confused, irresolute and wavering stand,*

*Caring not to become profound, but seem*
*Contented with a superficial skill,*
*Which for a slight reward enough they deem,*
*When th' one succeeds as well as th' other will:*
*Seeing shorter ways lead sooner to their end,*
*And others' longer travels thrive so ill.*

*Then would they only labour to extend*
*Their now unsearching spirit beyond these bounds*
*Of others' powers, wherein they must be penn'd,*
*As if there were besides no other grounds:*
*And set their bold* plus ultra *far without*
*The pillars of those axioms age propounds.*

*Discovering daily more and more about*
*In that immense and boundless ocean*
*Of nature's riches, never yet found out,*
*Nor foreclosed with the wit of any man.*
*So far beyond the ordinary course*
*That other unindustrious ages ran,*

*That these more curious times they might divorce*
*From the opinion they are linked unto,*
*Of our disable and unactive force;*
*To shew true knowledge can both speak and do:*
*Armed for the sharp which in these days they find*
*With all provisions that belong thereto:*

*That their experience may not come behind*
*The time's conceit: but, leading in their place,*
*May make men see the weapons of the mind*
*Are states' best strengths, and kingdoms' chiefest grace.*

DANIEL'S *Musophilus.*

---

[*GO now with some daring drug*
*Bait the disease, and while they tug,*
*Thou, to maintain their cruel strife,*
*Spend the dear treasure of thy life:*
*Go, take physic, doat upon*
*Some big-nam'd composition,*
*The oraculous doctor's mystic bills,*
*Certain hard words made into pills;*
*And what at length shalt get by these?*
*Only a costlier disease.*
*Go, poor man, think what; shall be*
*Remedy against thy remedy.*
*That which makes us have no need*
*Of physic, that's physic indeed.*]

*Hark hither, reader, wouldst thou see*
*Nature her own physician be?*
*Wouldst see a man all his own wealth,*
*His own music, his own health?*
*A man, whose sober soul can tell*
*How to wear her garments well;*
*Her garments that upon her sit*
*(As garments should do) close and fit:*

*A well-cloth'd soul, that's not oppress*
*Nor chokt with what she should be drest?*
*Whose soul's sheath'd in a crystal shrine,*
*Through which all her bright features shine,*
*As when a piece of wanton lawn,*
*A thin aerial vail is drawn,*
*O'er Beauty's face; seeming to hide,*
*More sweetly shews the blushing bride?*
*A soul, whose intellectual beams*
*No mists do mask, no lazy steams?*
*A happy soul, that all the way*
*To heav'n rides in a summer's day?*
*Wouldst see a man whose well-warm'd blood*
*Bathes him in a genuine flood:*
*A man, whose tuned humours be*
*A set of rarest harmony?*
*Wouldst see blithe looks, fresh cheeks beguile*
*Age? wouldst see December smile?*
*Wouldst see a nest of roses grow*
*In a bed of reverend snow?*
*Warm thoughts, free spirits, flattering*
*Winter's self into a spring?*
*In sum, wouldst see a man that can*
*Live to be old, and still a man;*
*Whose latest and most leaden hours*
*Fall with soft wings, stuck with soft flowers:*
*And when life's sweet fable ends,*
*His soul and body part like friends:*
*No quarrels, murmurs, no delay;*
*A kiss, a sigh, and so away?*
*This rare one, reader, wouldst thou see?*
*Hark hither, and thyself be he.*

RICHARD CRASHAW, *In praise of Lessius.*

---

*HOW'S this? A book for Temperance? that first page*
*Will mar the sale on't. Our luxurious age*
*Expects some new invention to devour*
*Estates at mouthfuls, swallow in an hour*
*What was not scraped in years: had ye but hit*
*On some such subject, that had been most fit*
*For these loose times, when a strict sparing food*
*More's out of fashion than an old French hood.*

*But what (alas!) must moderate Temperance,—she—*
*Live in perpetual exile, because we*
*Turn such voluptuous Epicures? No; now*
*Sh'has got bold champions dare her cause avow*
*In spite of opposition, and have shewn*
*In print t'our shame, how we're intemperate grown.*
*The pearl-dissolving courtier may well here*
*Learn to make meaner, yet far better cheer:*
*The scholar to be pleased with's penny bit,*
*As much as those that at kings' tables sit,*
*Crowded with heaps of dishes. Here's a diet*
*Ne'er troubles nature; and whoe'er shall buy it*
*For practice' sake, buys but his own content.*
*And that's a purchase he shall ne'er repent.*

J. JACKSON, *to the translator of Lessius.*

---

*METHINKS I could be intemperate in thy praise,*
*Feast thee with forced words and sugared lays;*
*But that thy prose, my verse, do both command*
*Me to keep measure, and take off my hand.*
*There's gluttony in words; the mouth may sin*
*In giving out, as well as taking in.*

BARNABAS OLEY, *to the same.*

TO THE

REV. S. R. MAITLAND, D.D.

*&c. &c.*

My dear Dr. Maitland,

Among the customs of the age to which this little book relates I have long thought that of dedications very deserving of our imitation. For, while they render merited homage to those who have furthered our intellectual or moral growth, they encourage us to exertion by the recollection, that there are readers for whom it is worth while to work. I rejoice therefore that a contribution to ecclesiastical history, slight though it be, gives me an excuse for acknowledging thus publicly the benefits which I have derived from your writings, from your catholic spirit and devotion to historical truth. If we no longer deem it a just ground for indiscriminate abuse of the middle ages that they are "dark to us;" if we can be protestants without implicit faith in Fox and Burnet; if we

are beginning to discover that books not popularly read may yet repay our study, and that, to see further than the giant, the dwarf must stand on the giant's shoulders; it is to you that this advance is mainly to be ascribed. Still, though you will at once remark defects hidden from the casual reader, I will not pretend to feel alarm in submitting my work to your judgement: for frequent experience assures me, that the true master now, as of old, "will gladly learn and gladly teach:" that wilful and self-satisfied ignorance alone need tremble beneath your rod; that, knowing how hard it is to be everywhere accurate and impartial, you will recognize any sincere endeavour after accuracy and impartiality.

Believe me to be,

My dear Dr. Maitland,

Ever truly and gratefully yours,

J. E. B. Mayor.

# *TO THE READER.*

THAT the principles of a science or a society can be rightly apprehended only when studied in their historical development, is a maxim oftener admitted than acted upon, at least in this country[1]. Nor is it the scientific accuracy of our conceptions alone which suffers from this neglect: our institutions also, contemplated externally and in the abstract, lose main elements of their strength, the spell of old associations and the reverence due to the great men whose characters they have moulded.

Happily however for the cause of learning and of truth, the very heats of present controversy often

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[1] Why do not our text-books, like the German, open with a sketch of the literature of their subjects? Why do they not trace the varying use of the technical terms employed? In general, why is bibliography so discountenanced among us? We see the inevitable result in researches which scarce stir the surface of fields long since exhausted, while richest veins lie elsewhere unwrought.

force us to consult the oracles of the past. Changes, whether returning towards, or receding from, an ancient discipline, add unwonted interest to the question, what the ancient discipline was, in itself and in its effects.

Hence, doubtless, it has come to pass, that the last thirty years have witnessed more, and more important publications on Cambridge history than any previous century[1]. Still, indeed, there is lack-

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[1] The following list, though certainly incomplete, is sufficient to confirm the statement in the text. Cooper's *Annals*, *Cambridge Memorials*, *Cambridge Portfolio*, Lamb's *Documents* and *History of C. C. C. C.*, Sherman's *History of Jesus*, Prickett's *History of Barnwell* and edition of Fuller's *Cambridge*, Gunning's *Reminiscences*, Heywood's *Statutes of King's*, and *University Transactions*, Peacock *On the Statutes;* various pamphlets and treatises on education, visitatorial power, &c. by Dr. Whewell, Dr. Corrie and others; publications of the Cambridge Commission and Cambridge Antiquarian Society; *Zurich Letters*, *Original Letters* and *Parker Correspondence* published by the Parker Society; Monk's *Life of Bentley*, *Lives* of D'Ewes, Worthington, Henry Newcome, Newton's *Correspondence*. Many particulars of university life may also be gleaned from Birch's *Court of Jas. I. and Chas. I.*, Cary's *Memorials*, &c. Add the Catalogues of MSS. or early printed books, or both, in the libraries of Trinity, St. John's and Caius Colleges, the special Catalogue of Baker's MSS. and the general Catalogue (now in the press) of MSS. in the Public Library. Valuable collections were made for the *Athenæ Cant.* announced by the ill-advised Eccl. Hist. Soc. These, no doubt, will be forthcoming whenever the Syndics of the Press are at liberty to undertake a work so peculiarly their own.

ing a comprehensive review of university studies and university life; but we reconcile ourselves to the delay when we reflect, that the generalizations of such a work can have little authority, unless based on a wider induction than is even yet possible. For in this, as in most other departments of English literature, we need workmen to clear the ground and lay the foundations, to shape and dispose the materials for the builder's use; in other words, the time for a general history will only then arrive, when antiquaries and commentators have prepared the way by special studies or monographs; exercises in which the greatest historians have been trained for their high vocation. Many such preliminary inquiries might be proposed[1] to those

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[1] *Histories of Colleges:* some exist in MS., *e.g.* Baker's of St. John's, Bennet's of Emmanuel, Dr. Ainslie's of Pembroke.

*Histories of the puritan, Socinian, deistic, and other controversies; of the disputes regarding subscriptions, visitatorial power, the authority of heads of colleges,* &c.

*Biographies* (*on the plan of Ward's* Gresham Professors) *of the occupants of important posts.*

*Biographies, original or selected, printed or MS., of single individuals or groups of contemporaries: e.g. Hacket's* Life of Williams, *Whiston's* Life.

*Transcripts* (*for the Library*) *of portions of Cole's* Athenæ, *and the like collections.*

*Publication of original letters, wills, petitions, &c.:*

*Of MS. notes on important works, e.g. Baker's on Strype's* Parker, *and on Calamy's* Account:

who would devote to the honour of their university habits of accuracy and industry either originally implanted or more deeply rooted in them by her care: for myself, I long since designed a series of Cambridge memoirs, partly on the plan of Dr. Wordsworth's well-known collection. In no other form are original records less repulsive to that

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*Of registers, grace books, &c. of the University or colleges* from the earliest times.

*Accounts of foundations, gifts, bequests, &c.; of college portraits, plate, &c., and of the donors.*

*Lists of select preachers, of holders of college livings, &c., of men who have entered or matriculated, but not graduated, &c.*

*Critical reviews, with extracts and bibliographical notices, of Cambridge biographies (arranged chronologically and alphabetically); of controversies; of the text-books successively used in the university or colleges; of congratulatory verses, epicedia, &c.; of funeral sermons; of prefaces, and verses printed before or after books; of Hulsean and other sermons and prize compositions; of* determinationes publice habitæ, *&c.; of the works, and editions of the works, of Cambridge men; of books on education, e. g. Ascham's* Scholemaster, *Brinsley's* Ludus Literarius, *Webster's* Examination of Academies, *and the answer to it,* Vindiciæ Academiarum (Univ. Libr. Dd. 3. 28).

*Catalogues of the university and college libraries, of their rarer books or MSS.; histories of the same, recording their formation, and tracing their growth, assigning (at least in some cases) the books to their donors.*

*Lists of Cambridge printers, and of books printed in the town.*

Towards works of this kind the Syndics of the Press and Library, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and the several colleges, may fairly be expected to lend ready assistance.

"reading public," for which books are but a fashionable means of killing time; while those whose requirements demand more respectful consideration, students of a sterner mould, gladly fill up the outlines of their knowledge with such individual traits as find no place in more formal documents. The wants which had thus suggested my purpose seemed as pressing as before, when I was invited to take a share in cataloguing the Cambridge MSS. With Baker's, which fell to my lot, I was already familiar, and had for some years seized every occasion for proclaiming the merits of that most judicious, modest, and conscientious scholar, whose unrivalled mastery of the sources of English history was ever at the service of contemporary authors, and still commands the reader's admiration. In his volumes I met with Ferrar's life, and at once saw in it an artless tale of a period too much neglected, and of a man whom to know is to venerate.

The son of a pious and bountiful merchant, whose public spirit deserved the friendship of Hawkins and Drake, Middleton and Raleigh, Nicholas Ferrar grew up under no ordinary incentives to diligence and virtue. To some, perhaps, of these men, and to others of a different stamp, such as Antony Wotton and Francis White, the child, even then known as Saint Nicholas, was endeared by an earnest thoughtfulness beyond his years, by

a reverent study of the bible and habitual "love and fear of the Divine Majesty." As in childhood, so throughout life, Ferrar was surrounded by many who still live in our remembrance. Among his college associates were Butler, Linsell, Ruggle, Williams: and when afterwards he directed that noble company, which secured to Virginia free trade, free trial, free government, and Christian education, his coadjutors were the pupil of Hooker and the patron of Shakespeare. And well does the performance of these riper years fulfil the promise of his infancy. At Clare Hall, in that age of hard students, "his chamber might be known by the last candle put out and the first lighted in the morning." When his tender frame sunk under incessant toil, he sought relief in the education of his sister's children, who even then began to acknowledge him "as their true spiritual friend and father;" and when at last the ague and Butler warned him that change of climate could alone save his life, after addressing his family in a farewell unsurpassed for pathetic beauty, he found in foreign travel a new supply to his intellectual cravings, and a new school of virtuous principles. Then it was that he gained that familiarity with the arts, institutions, and literature of Europe, which, combined with rarer endowments, made him so incomparable a teacher: then too he learnt (no easy lesson in those days) to be

haritable to members of a church whose corrup-
ions he abhorred, and even to discover something
vorthy a protestant's regard in Romish treatises
nd practices of mortification. Nor was opportunity
anting to draw out yet higher energies: in the
oothing cure of Garton's wounded conscience and
n the cool self-possession which was proved in
nore than one deadly peril, we see the two sides of
is character, who was to be his friends' chosen
'confessor," and, in parliament or at the Virginia
oard, a foremost champion of right against might.

Memorable, however, as are the traditions of Ferrar's childhood, youth, and public life, his last years of retirement bespeak our chief attention, as being most characteristic of the man and of his times[1]. Here also we meet with famous names. Laud and Williams, whose rival ambition was discreditable to them as it was disastrous to the

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[1] Compare the resolution of Worthington (*infra*, 27 n.), the practice of Crashaw and of lady Falkland (*Life by John Duncon*, London, 1649, where we read of her nursing the sick, p. 160, her hours of prayer, 166 seq. 188 seq., fasting, 169, 179, her alms, 176 seq., conning of Psalms without book, 189, her plan for a widows' college, 196), Cosins's *Hours of Prayer*, with the answers of Prynne and Burton, [Sir George Wheler's] *Protestant Monastery: or Christian Œconomicks, Containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family. But as for me*, &c. Josh. xxiv. 15. 1698. sm. 8vo. (St. John's College Library. V. 20. 64).

church, were at one in their esteem for Ferrar; the first "rejoicing to lay hands on such a man," and continuing to favour the precocious genius of the nephew, on whom his mantle descended; the other careless for once of popularity in his determination to protect those, whose scrupulous honesty, no less than their devotion, "was an example to all the gentry of England:" George Herbert, who, having shared all his "brother's" thoughts while living, at his death bequeathed the "Temple" to his care: Crashaw, the frequent partner of the Gidding "watchings": Charles himself, who at most critical moments forgot his state anxieties in inspecting and regulating the labours of a household as remote, as any could then be, from the stir of civil and religious embroilment:—all these, and others who might be added, such as Jackson, Cosins, Oley, Hill, rise in our estimation by what we here read of them. The inner life of the family itself has come down to us perhaps in greater fulness of detail than that of any other private family of the time: from which circumstance alone, irrespective of its intrinsic value, it must be not a little attractive to the historical student. A nearer view may convince us, that those who have spared these memorials, while they have suffered so many others to perish, were guided in their preference by a just instinct. For where shall we look for a finer model

of a Christian matron than "old Mrs. Ferrar;" obeying to the last every prescription of a strict rule, and thereby retaining every faculty unimpaired; so zealous for the honour of God's house, as not to rest from a wearying journey, until she had seen it cleansed from profanation; presiding over the studies of her grandchildren, who nightly knelt to ask her blessing? Where, for a more honest chronicler than John Ferrar, whose simple records of the brother whose superiority he felt are as free from envy as from exaggeration? Where, for a wiser exercise of a mother's authority, or more touching expressions of a mother's love, than in Mrs. Collett's letters to her children? If we turn to the sisters, we see in them expert housewives, patient nurses, gentle surgeons, "none of them nice of dressing with their own hands poor people's wounds, were they never so offensive;" handy artists, who accounted it an honourable occupation to reduce to harmony, to illustrate, even to bind, the sacred volume; eager students, now instructing the country children, now committing to memory those dialogues in which their uncle had enshrined the brightest examples of history, and which to them supplied the place of the misrule customary at the high-tides of the Church. In Nicholas Ferrar himself, "the Levite in his own house," we have the rare spectacle of a man whose one end in

life "was to make himself or others better;" by his veneration for saints and martyrs entitling himself to like veneration; "spending eighteen hours out of the twenty four in useful business, serious study, devout prayers, or heavenly meditations;" comforting and supporting his companions in every trial; on his death-bed "passing the days and nights in heavenly counsels to all the family;" reprobating the fatal and still prevalent delusion that literary power atones for an author's want of moral purpose, or exhorting his young charge to persevere in those pursuits, which had hitherto depended on his guidance; in the last scene of all crowning the witness of his life by that practical evidence of religion, which to those who behold it is still the strongest, "the death of the righteous."

Such being the character of the man, we cannot marvel that much pains[1] have been bestowed to preserve his memory from oblivion. It must

[1] See the Appendix. As further proofs of interest in the subject may be mentioned three transcripts of the Arminian Nunnery (Harl. MS. 7055, art. 6, by Wanley; Middle Hill MSS. 6829, 9527), Dr. Woodward's *Fair warning to a careless world*, ed. 3, p. 120, Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*. The reader may remark for how many of these remains we are indebted to men who made no noise in the literary world. Wm. Robinson, for instance; who ever heard of him? yet he gave many documents a new chance for life, whilst few perhaps of those whose eyes will fall on these words have rescued even one.

however in fairness be allowed, that the chorus of praise has been interrupted by a few discordant voices. That in the spreading ferment of puritanism, when the celebration of Christmas and the decoration of houses were abominated as dregs of heathenism, and organs and surplices as rags and furniture of Babylon[1],—that amid such jealous suspicions, I say, the Ferrars would not escape calumny, was to have been anticipated, nor would mere vague rumours admit of serious refutation. In their more tangible form, as embodied in the Arminian Nunnery, these slanders were silenced by Lenton, whose letter the libeller had taken as his groundwork. Gough's imputation of "useless enthusiasm" called

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[1] See Prynne's *Histriomastix*. This most learned of libellers is far better known by the cruel usage, which could not still his restless tongue and pen, than by his works. Yet hear the weighty sentence of one of his few readers. "I take Wm. Prynne to have been at the bottome an honest Man, his zeal for the Protestant Religion led him to great excesses, and to writing Books, that were interpreted (and really were) libels against the Church and Government: but when he saw into the bloody designs of the Independent Party, he stopt, and was an utter enemy to bringing the King to a Tryall, as he has sufficiently shown in his Preface to this Book; and was an enemy to Cromwell, and to the Rump, more then to the King. And this may be said for his Books, that being most Historical, he always quotes his Authorities, so that if there be any mistakes, he fairly offers them to be examined. This too is like an honest Man." *Baker's MS. note in Prynne's* Saints Loyalty.

forth indignant protests at the time[1], and was more gravely discussed than it deserved by Dr. Peckard. These accusations and replies have been long forgotten; but a continually increasing circle, embracing men of every party[2], holds in honour the name of Ferrar, if only as that of a congenial friend of Herbert, now happily restored to his rightful rank among our national poets.

There is however one exception to the general unanimity which cannot be thus summarily dismissed. Raised far above most writers on our civil wars not less by his industry and scholarship[3] than

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[1] *Gent. Mag.* xlii. 322. Cole's *Athenæ.*

[2] Witness the publishers of the three latest biographies, Rivington, Nisbet, Masters.

[3] Understand it of modern scholarship, in which Mr. Carlyle is beyond question far better versed than in ancient, if we are to estimate his proficiency in that by the following passage, wherein, it is true, party spirit (Hero Worship) seems to have led him astray. "*Pientissimo,* which might as well be *piantissimo* if conjugation and declension were observed, is accredited barbarous-latin for *most pious,* but means properly *most expiative;* by which title the zealous individual of later date indicates his martyred Majesty; a most 'expiative' Majesty indeed." *Cromwell's Letters,* &c. i. 58. When did Mr. Carlyle see a superlative formed from an active participle *not used as an adjective?* or when did he meet with *pians rex* in the sense of *an expiative king?* Doubtless such an anomalous inflection as *pientissimus* from *pians* is "barbarous-latin." It is hardly needful to say, that those who remember Cicero's ridicule of Antony's *piissimus,* and know the superlative of *munificus,* will readily divine the origin of *pientissimus.*

by his singular power of bringing a scene before us in all its picturesque features, Mr. Carlyle has asserted his superiority by nothing more, than by assigning a place in his narrative to many incidents and many persons, significant types of their class, but unnoticed by ordinary historians. Among other portraits that of Ferrar hangs in this gallery; and his friends, how little soever they may acknowledge the likeness, must at least rejoice that so eminent an artist has thus confessed his importance. To enable the reader to judge for himself, it will be necessary to introduce Mr. Carlyle's account by the authority to which it appeals (the same, by the way, which was caricatured in the Arminian Nunnery) and that by an explanatory letter[1], which Mr. Carlyle appears to have overlooked.

"Sir,

If your messenger had staid but one night longer, I would not have delayed my answer to your so discreet and respective a letter; which makes me wish we were better acquainted, in hope to confirm your good and charitable opinion of me.

Sir, I confess I should much degenerate from my birth (being a gentleman), my breeding (well known to the world), and the religion I profess, if having, upon something a bold visit, been entertained in your family with kind and civil

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[1] Both printed after Peckard, his unnecessary interpolations alone being omitted. The copies in Hearne's *Caius* offer only minute verbal differences.

respects, I should requite it with such scorn and calumny as this libellous pamphlet seems to insinuate.

Sir, my conceit of it is, that in this time of too much liberty (if not licentiousness) of the press, many ballad-makers and necessitous persons (it may be, set on work by some printers themselves, to promote their trade) distil their barren brains to make provision for their empty bellies, by publishing such novelties and fictions as they think will vent best; and, when they have spent their own little wit, borrow of others to eke it out; and so, enterlacing some shreds of their own, they patch up a penny pamphlet, to serve for their morning draught.

Of this strain I take this book to be. The ground whereof (you doubt, but I doubt not) was the letter I writ to sir Thomas Hetley many years since, upon his request that in my passage from him to my lord Montague's, being by your house, I would see and certify what I could in so short a stay, touching the various reports divulged in most places of your religious rites and ceremonies.

*To which my true relation (which I am sorry and marvel how it should light in such hucksters' hands) the pamphleteer, by his additions and subtractions, interweaving truth with falsehood to purchase some credit to his untruths, hath drawn conclusions and accusations of Arminianism and other fopperies, not once mentioned in my letter; but, as wisely as that atheist, who, to prove there was no God, vouched one end of a verse where David in his psalms*[1] *saith,* There is no God; *and left out the beginning of the verse,* That the fool hath said it in his heart.

By this time, sir, I hope you see I am so far from being the author, infuser, abetter or countenancer of this fable, that, by it I take myself to be as much abused, and that there is as much aspersion cast upon me as upon your family, by a sly and cunning intimation (my letter being his groundwork) to

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[1] xiv. 1.

make me thought (by such as know me not well) to be the author and divulger of his lies and scandals, which (by God's mercy) my soul abhors.

*Had he shewed his dislike of some of the ceremonies, &c. (as I myself did, by way of argument) I should not (nor, I think, you) so much have kindled at it. But so to add to, subtract, pervert, and falsify my letter;—I think the author (if haply he may be found out) deserves to be censured as a counterfeiter of false letters and tokens, and as a contriver and publisher of false news, according to the law of the land and the statutes in like case provided.*

*His ignorance (which yet excuseth not* a toto, *if* a tanto) *I think will be his best plea.* For, it should seem, he is no great clerk. Which I observe even almost at the beginning of his story, where he tells a tale as of a third person, and in the same clause, within two or three lines after, ineptly changeth it into the first person, without any apt transition. A solecism which a mean scholar would hardly have fallen into.

To have put the true copy of my letter in print, without my privity, had been a great inhumanity. *But to pervert it with so many falsifications, and laying his inhumanities on me, I think, none but a licentious libeller, or a beggarly ballad-maker, would have offered.*

I was so conscious to myself of intending no wrong to your family in my relation, that I thought to have sent your brother [N. F.] a copy thereof; and had done it, if want of opportunity in his lifetime, and his death afterwards, had not prevented me. And I would now send you a true copy thereof, if you had not wrote to me, that you had it presently after my writing it. And sith I have been at your house long since (for it is about seven years past, as I take it, that I writ the relation) I presume you would have expostulated the matter with me, if you had taken any just exception or distaste at it. But therein you might well perceive, that I endeavoured not to detract any thing from you, or to conceal even the civility or humility I found, or what I had heard or believed of your works of charity.

Thus, sir, even the very same day I received your's (for there needs no long time to answer a matter of fact with matter of truth; and being full of indignation to be thus traduced, whereof I longed instantly to discharge myself) I scribbled over this candid and ingenuous answer. And I am now troubled that you gave me no direction for the address thereof to you; which, when haply you shall receive, I leave to your own discretion, to make what use thereof you please; presuming that you will therein have the like respects to me which herein I have had to you. So leaving us to the guidance of our good God, I subscribe, as you to me, your friend and servant,

ED. LENTON.

*Notley, near Thame, Oct 27,* [1641].

To the worshipful my worthily esteemed friend John Ferrar, esq. at his house in Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire."

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The copy of my letter to sir Thomas Hetley, kt. and serjeant at law, upon his request to certify as I found.

"Good Mr. Serjeant[1].

I can give you but a short account of my not two hours stay at the reputed (at least reported) nunnery at Gidding; and yet must leave out three parts of our passages, as fitter for a relation than a letter.

I came thither after ten; and found a fair house, fairly seated; to which I passed through a fine grove and sweet walks, letticed and gardened on both sides.

Their livelihood £500 per annum, as my lord Montague told me; one of his mansion houses being within two or three miles of them[2].

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[1] 1634.

[2] At Coppingford?

A man-servant brought me into a fair spacious parlour. Whither, soon after, came to me the old gentlewoman's second son [Nicholas Ferrar;] a bachelor, of a plain presence, but of able speech and parts. Who, after I had (as well as in such case I could) deprecated any ill conceit of me, for so unusual and bold a visit, entertained me very civilly and with much humility. Yet said, I was the first who ever came to them in that kind; though not the first whom they had heard of, who determined to come. After deprecations and some compliments, he said, I should see his mother, if I pleased. I shewing my desire, he went up into a chamber, and presently returned with these; namely, his mother, a tall, straight, clear-complexioned, grave matron, of eighty years of age: his elder brother, married (but whether a widower, I asked not), a short, black-complexioned man: his apparel and hair so fashioned as made him shew priestlike: and his sister, married to one Mr. Collett, by whom she hath 14 or 15 children: all which are in the house (which I saw not yet). And of these, and two or three maid-servants, the family consists.

I saluted the mother and daughter, not like nuns, but as we use to salute other women. And (after we were all seated circular-wise, and my deprecations renewed to the other three[1]) I desired that, to their favour of entertaining me, they would add the giving of me a free liberty to speak ingenuously what I conceived of any thing I should see or have heard of, without any distaste to them.

Which being granted; I first told them, what I had heard of the nuns of Gidding; of two, watching and praying all night, of their canonical hours, of their crosses on the outside and inside of their chapel, of an altar there, richly decked with plate, tapestry, and tapers, of their adorations and

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[1] Mr. John Ferrar, Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, and Mr. John Collet.

geniculations at their entering therein. Which, I objected, might savour of superstition and popery.

Here the younger son, the mouth for them all, cut me off; and, to this last answered first with a protestation, that he did as verily believe the pope to be antichrist as any article of his faith. Wherewith I was satisfied and silenced, touching that point.

For the nunnery; he said, That the name of nuns was odious. But the truth (from whence that untrue report might arise) was, that two of his nieces had lived, one, thirty, the other, thirty-two years, virgins; and so resolved to continue (as he hoped they would) the better to give themselves to fasting and prayer: but had made no vows.

For the canonical hours, he said, they usually prayed *six* times a day. As I remember, *twice* a day publicly in the chapel; and four times more privately in the house. In the chapel, after the order of the book of common-prayer: in their house, particular prayers for a private family.

I said, if they spent so much time in praying, they would leave little for preaching or for their weekly callings. For the one I vouched the text, *He that turneth away his ear from hearing the law, even his prayer shall be abomination*[1]. For the other, *Six days shalt thou labour*, &c.

To the one he answered, that a neighbour minister of another parish came on Sunday-mornings, and preached; and sometimes they went to his parish. To the other, that their calling was to serve God; which he took to be the best.

I replied, that, for men in health and of active bodies and parts, it were a tempting of God to quit our callings, and wholly to betake ourselves to fasting, prayer, and a contemplative life, which by some is thought little better than a serious kind of idleness; not to term it (as St. Austin terms moral virtues without Christ) *splendida peccata*[2].

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[1] Prov. xxviii. 9.

[2] I have not met with these words in Augustine; but the thought often recurs; *e. g. Contra Julianum*, IV. § 18 seq.

He rejoined, that they had found divers perplexities, distractions, and almost utter ruin, in their callings. But (if others knew what comfort and content God ministered to them since their sequestration, and with what incredible improvement of their livelihood) it might encourage others to the like course.

I said that such an imitation might be of dangerous consequence. And that if any, in good case before, should fall into poverty, few afterwards would follow the example.

For their night-watchings, and their rising at four of the clock in the morning (which I thought was much for one of fourscore years, and for children). To the one he said, it was not much; since they always went to bed at seven of the clock in the evening. For the other, he confessed, there were every night two (*alternatim*) continued all night in their devotions, who went not to bed until the rest arose.

For the crosses he made the usual answer, that they were not ashamed of that badge of Christian profession which the first propugners of the faith bare in their banners, and which we, in our church discipline, retain to this day.

For their chapel; that it was now near chapel time (for eleven is the hour in the forenoon), and that I might, if I pleased, accompany them thither, and so satisfy myself best of what I had heard concerning that. Which afterwards I willingly entertained.

In the mean time I told them, I perceived all was not true which I had heard of the place. For I could see no such inscription on the frontispiece of the house, containing a kind of invitation of such as were willing to learn of them, or would teach them better. Which was some encouragement for me to come (as one desirous to learn, not teach) and might be some excuse of my audacity, if they would be pleased so to accept it. But he, barring me from farther compliments, said, the ground of that report hung over my head.

We sitting by the chimney, in the chimney piece was a manuscript tableture; which, after I had read, I craved

leave to beg a copy of (so they would not take me for too bold a beggar). He forthwith took it down, and commanded it to be presently transcribed and given to me. I offered the writer money for his deserved pains: which was refused. And the master [N. F.] conjured me not to offer it a second time. And thereupon made it his suit not to offer any thing to any in that house, at my parting, or otherwise. The words of the protestation are as followeth.

IHS

HE who (by reproof of our errors, and remonstrance of that which is more perfect) seeks to make us better, is welcome as an Angel of God.

And

HE who (by a cheerful participation and approbation of that which is good) confirms us in the same, is welcome as a Christian Friend.

But

HE who any ways goes about to disturb us in that which is and ought to be amongst Christians (tho' it be not usual in the world) is a burden whilst he stays and shall bear his judgement, whosoever he be.

And

HE who faults us in absence for that which in presence he made shew to approve of, doth by a double guilt of flattery and slander violate the bands both of friendship and charity.

MARY FERRAR, *Widow*,
Mother of this Family,
and aged about fourscore years,
(who bids adieu to all fears and hopes of this world,
and only desires to serve God)
*set up this Table.*

The matter of this declaration being in such general terms, I said, I thought it without exception. But I prayed leave to except a circumstance, namely, the superscription: it being the proper character of the Jesuits[1] in every book and exhibit of theirs. He said it was that auspicious name, worthy to be the alpha and omega of all our doings; and that we are commanded to write such things *on the posts of our houses and upon our gates.* (Deut. vi. 9.) I told him, I was far from excepting against that sacred, saving name of Jesus: only I could have wished it written at length, or any other way, to have differenced it from that which the papists only use, but no protestants. And, that the text he mentioned, was in the Old Testament (where there was no mention of Jesus, but of Jehovah) to my remembrance. But we passed from this towards the chapel, being about forty paces

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[1] Can this be the basis of Mr. Carlyle's words, *who had acquired something of the Jesuit in his foreign travels?* "If you view the forefront of these *Devotions*, you shall find these three Capital letters (IHS.) encircled in a sun, supported by two angels, with two devout nuns or women praying to it, one of them holding a cross in her hand. Now, what is this but an undoubted badge and character of a *Popish* and *Jesuitical* book; of an *Idolatrous* and *Romish Devotion?* Look into the frontispiece of all *Jesuits'* works, you shall find this stamp and impress on them (IHS.) in the self-same form as here: Look into your Popish Horaries, Primers, Offices, Prayers, and Devotions: Lo, there a cross, a (IHS.) and men praying to them, or before them: but never saw I such a forefront in any orthodox English or outlandish writers. *Index animi vultus;* the very effigies, draught, and portraiture therefore of the frontispiece proclaims the book itself, and him that penned it to be merely *Popish:* It hath the very *mark and seal of the Beast upon its forehead;* therefore, it must needs be his."—Prynne's *Briefe Svrvay and Censvre of Mr. Cozens His Couzening Deuotions*, 4. Compare *ib.* 40, 54.

from the house, yet staid a little (as with a parenthesis) by a glass of sack, a sugar-cake, and a fine napkin, brought by a mannerly maid. Which refreshed my memory to tell them what my lord bishop of Lincoln said of them. Wherein yet I brake no laws of humanity or hospitality (though spoken at his table.) For he said nothing but what they wished and were glad to hear; being but the relation of the grave and discreet answers (as my lord himself termed them) of the old gentlewoman to some of his lordship's expostulations.

To that part concerning the young deacon, whom his lordship had heard of, to come from Cambridge to officiate in their chapel; he (innuendo ever the younger son, who only was the speaker) said, that himself was the young deacon intended. That he is two and forty years old; was fellow of a house in Cambridge; and hath taken the orders of a deacon.—To say nothing of his having been at Rome (whereof I could have excepted no more against him than he might against me). For having been so long in the labour of the chapel, it is now high time we were at the church—

At the entering thereof he made a low obeisance[1]; a few paces farther, a lower; coming to the half-pace (which was at the east end, where the table stood) he bowed to the ground, if not prostrated himself: then went up into a fair, large reading place (a preaching place being of the same proportion, right over against it). The mother, with all her train (which were her daughter and daughter's daughters) had a fair island seat.

He placed me above, upon the half-pace, with two fair window cushions of green velvet before me. Over against me was such another seat, so suited; but no body to sit in it. The daughter's four sons kneeled all the while on the edge of the half-pace; all in black gowns. (And they went to church

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[1] See below, note on p. 29. Add Eleazaris Dunconi *De adoratione Dei versus altare.* Determinatio Cantabrigiæ habita Martii 15. 1633. sine loco. 1660. Also published in English.

in round Monmouth caps[1], as my man said; for I looked not back) the rest all in black, save one of the daughter's daughters, who was in a friar's grey gown.

We being thus placed, the deacon (for so I must now call him) with a very loud and distinct voice, began with the Litany, read divers prayers and collects in the book of Common-prayer, and Athanasius his creed, and concluded with *The Peace of God*, &c.

All ended, the mother, with all her company, attended my coming down. But her son (the deacon) told her, I would stay awhile to view the chapel. So with all their civil salutations towards me (which I returned them afar off; for I durst not come nearer, lest I should have light upon one of the virgins; not knowing whether they would have taken a kiss[2] in good part or no) they departed home.

Now (none but the deacon and I left) I observed the chapel, in general, to be fairly and sweetly adorned with herbs and flowers, natural in some places, and artificial upon every pillar along both sides the chapel (such as are in cathedral churches) with tapers (I mean great virgin-wax-candles) on every pillar.

The half-pace at the upper end (for there was no other division betwixt the body of the chapel and the east part) was all covered with tapestry. And, upon that half-pace, stood the communion-table (not altar-wise, as reported) with a rich carpet hanging very large upon the half-pace; and some plate, as a chalice, and candlesticks with wax candles.

By the preaching place stood the font; the leg, laver and cover, all of brass, cut and carved. The cover had a cross erected. The laver was of the bigness of a barber's bason.

And this is all which I had leisure to observe in the chapel; save that I asked for the organs? And he told me, they were not there; but that they had a pair in their house.

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[1] Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 431 (8vo. ed.)

[2] Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.* i. 523 n. *Notes and Qu.* x. 208.

I asked also, what use they made of so many tapers? He said, to give them light, when they could not see without them.

Then (having, as I told you before, obtained leave to say what I listed) I asked him, to whom he made all those courtesies? He said, to God. I asked if the papists made any other answer for their bowing to images and crucifixes? yet we account them idolaters for so doing. He said, we have no such warrant for the one. But for the other we have a precept, to *do all things with decency and order*[1]; as he took this to be.

I demanded then, why he used not the same solemnity in his service at his house; And, whether he thought the chapel more holy than his house? He said, No. But that God was more immediately present, while we were worshiping him in the temple.

I replied, that I thought God was as present at Paul's cross as at Paul's church; and at the preaching-place at Whitehall, and 'spital sermons, as elsewhere. For where two or three are gathered together in His name, God is in the midst of them. And yet in those places (no, not in the body of the church, though there be a sermon and prayers there) we do not use this threefold reverence, nor any low bowing, unless in the chancel towards the east, where an altar or some crucifix is?—He answered me something of the trinary number, which I did not understand, nor well hear.

This, as all other our discourse, being ended with mildness and moderation (on his part at least) I said farther, since their devotions (from which they would be loth to be diverted or interrupted, as in the said protestation appears) are more strict and regular than usual, if in their consciences they were persuaded that all their formalities and ceremonies were but *adiaphora* (things indifferent) I then thought they were as wise as serpents (in the Scripture sense) in complying so with the church ceremonies, that they might the safelier hold on

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[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

their course without exception. For in this comportment, I thought, authority would not except against them, unless for exceeding the cathedrals; who make but one reverence, whereas they make three. He said, I spake like one who seemed to have had experience in the world.

It being now near twelve o'clock, we ended our discourse, and I called for my horses; hoping that thereupon he would have invited me to stay dinner[1]: not that I care for his or any man's meat (for you had given me a dinner in too good a breakfast) but that I might have gained more time to have seen and observed more of their fashions; and whether the virgins and younger sort would have mingled with us; with divers other things, which such a dinner-time would have best ministered matter for. But, instead of making me stay, he helped me in calling for my horses; accompanying me even to my stirrup. And so, I not returning into the house, as we friendly met, we friendly parted.

Many more questions I thought on, when it was too late; and yet you see I was not idle for the short time I stayed. I asked him, of their monthly receiving the sacrament, and whether their servants (when they received) were attended by their masters and mistresses, and suffered not so much as to lay and take away their own trenchers, as I had heard? whereat he smiled, as at a frivolous fable, and said, the only difference from other days was, that the servants (the day they received) sat at the same table with them.

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[1] It was not the custom of the family to invite "Anonymous Persons" to stay dinner (see below, pp. 247, 248): it is however, some consolation to think that Lenton had eaten "too good a Breakfast," and that "a mannerly Maid" had before church stayed him "as with a parenthesis, by a Glass of Sack, Sugar-Cake and a fine Napkin," and all this before twelve o'clock. As probably half an hour would see him safe at "my Lord Mountague's," we are not surprised that he lived to tell the tale of his privations.

I heard also that they never roast any meat; only boil and bake (but not in paste), that their servants may not be much hindered from their devotions; and that they have but one horse amongst them all. But of these I made no mention.

They are extraordinary well reported of by their neighbours, viz. that they are very liberal to the poor; at great cost in preparing physic and surgery, for the sick and sore (whom they also visit often), and that some sixty or eighty poor people they task with catechetical questions: which when they come and make answer to, they are rewarded with money and their dinner. By means of which reward of meat and money, the poor catechumens learn their lessons well; and so their bodies and souls too are well fed.

I find them full of humanity and humility. And others speak as much of their charity: which I also verily believe, and therefore am far from censuring them: of whom I think much better than of myself. My opposing of some of their opinions and practices, as you see in this my relation (wherein I may have varied in some circumstances, but nothing from the substance) was only by way of argument, and for my own better information. I shall be glad to observe how wiser men will judge of them, or imitate their course of life.

I intended not a third part of this when I began, as you may see by my first lines. But, one thing drawing on another, I have now left out little or nothing to my remembrance; saving what I thought fitting in good manners, upon my first affront, to make way for my welcome, and *ad captandam benevolentiam;* which is not worth the repeating, if I could; and I am something better at acting such a part, than at relating it: though good at neither.

After this long and tedious relation, I must now make but short thanks to yourself and my lady for my long and kind welcome; wherein my wife joins with me; praying your remembering our loving respects to our kind nieces (hoping the good scholars at Westminster are well). And so I leave you to the grace of God; and am the same, your loving friend,

EDWARD LENTON."

"Crossing Huntingdonshire, on this occasion, in his way Northward, his Majesty had visited the Establishment of Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding on the western border of that county[1]. A surprising Establishment, now in full flower; wherein above fourscore persons, including domestics, with Ferrar and his Brother and aged Mother at the head of them, had devoted themselves to a kind of Protestant Monachism, and were getting much talked of in those times. They followed celibacy, and merely religious duties; employed themselves in 'binding of Prayer-books,' embroidering of hassocks, and what charitable work was possible in that desert region; above all, they kept up, night and day, a continual repetition of the English Liturgy; being divided into relays and watches, one watch relieving another, as on ship-board; and never allowing at any hour the sacred fire to go out. This also, as a feature of the times, the modern reader is to meditate. In Isaac Walton's *Lives* there is some drowsy notice of these people, not unknown to the modern reader. A far livelier notice; record of an actual visit to the place, by an Anonymous Person, seemingly a religious Lawyer, perhaps returning from Circuit in that direction, at all events a most sharp distinct man, through whose clear eyes we also can

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[1] "Rushworth, ii. 178." See Appendix.

still look;—is preserved by Hearne in very unexpected neighbourhood[1]. The Anonymous Person, after some survey and communing, suggested to Nicholas Ferrar, 'Perhaps he had but *assumed* all this ritual mummery, in order to get a devout life led peaceably in these bad times?' Nicholas, a dark man, who had acquired something of the Jesuit in his Foreign travels, looked at him ambiguously, and said, 'I perceive you are a person who know the world!' They did not ask the Anonymous Person to stay dinner, which he considered would have been agreeable."—Carlyle's *Cromwell*, i. 106, 107.

In dealing with language so allusive, one cannot be sure of having seized the meaning intended to be conveyed. As I understand it, Ferrar is here depicted as a cowardly hypocrite, feigning a love of "ritual mummery" in order to live unmolested by bishops and chancellors. Let us compare the comment with the text. That Mr. Carlyle has mistaken Ferrar's complexion[2] and confounded the two

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[1] "Thomæ Caii Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis (Oxf. 1730), ii. 702–794. There are two *Lives* of Ferrar; considerable writings about him; but, except this, nothing that much deserves to be read."

[2] "Nicholas, a dark man, who had acquired something of the Jesuit in his Foreign travels." It is a great gift, no doubt, thus to dash off a character at a stroke, by a single graphic epithet; who does not feel that a worse impression of Nicholas

brothers[1], is literally as plain as it is that black is not white. That the "Anonymous Person," respecting whose profession Mr. Carlyle hazards a conjecture, bears the less mysterious title *Edward Lenton of Grey's Inn* in the very book referred to by Mr. Carlyle[2], is, though strange, not less true. That "above fourscore persons" of this "surprising Establishment" managed to pick up a living "in that desert[3] region," that veritable *hermitage*, is a conclusion of transcendental logic from the premisses

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is left on the mind by this summary sentence than by a formal conviction on sufficient proof? But, if I may steal a trick from the Teufelsdröckh press: "What if your Graphic-Epithet be *mis*applied?" Do you not risk the proverbial step to the ridiculous?

[1] John, whom Lenton calls "a short, black-complexioned man; whose apparel and hair made him shew priestlike;" with Nicholas "a bachelor, of a plain presence, but of able speech and parts;" in childhood "fair and of bright hair like his mother," in manhood, as his portraits shew, clear-complexioned.

[2] In Hearne's *Caius*, 693 *n.*, is some notice of Lenton's family. Gough, Peckard and others have cited these papers from Hearne; so that for Mr. Carlyle alone, of those who have looked into the matter, can they have been "preserved in very unexpected neighbourhood." The letters, it may be added, are printed with Lenton's name in one of the commonest of books, Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biogr.*

[3] So called after the analogy of *lucus a non lucendo*, because it lay hard by the great north road, with half a dozen villages within a distance of two miles. See below, p. 55, "*the towns round about and men in the fields*;" also pp. 57 and 76.

(1. *Ferrar's mother, a tall, straight, clear-complexioned, grave matron was of* eighty *years of age.* 2. *Some sixty or* eighty *poor people were tasked with catechetical questions, which when they came and made answer to, they were rewarded with money and their dinner*), or from these, furnished by two[1] out of the three testimonies which Mr. Carlyle has glanced at, I will not desecrate the term by saying, *has read:* 1. *He and his family were like a little college, about thirty in number.* 2. *The family consisted of N. F., his mother and brother, his sister and her husband, their fourteen or fifteen children, and two or three maidservants*[2].

The uninitiated may imagine that the words 'binding of Prayer-books' are a quotation; for the benefit of the literary aspirant I will venture to divulge the mystery: *lest your happy hits be lost upon the unconscious public, mark them out for approbation by inverted commas.* But to the point: that the Ferrars did bind prayer-books, I make no question, but there is, I believe, no proof that they

[1] Walton and Lenton.

[2] Add the three schoolmasters; John Ferrar's family; "little Mall" Mapletoft, soon to be joined by her fatherless brother and sister, when they also (in 1635) were adopted by their aunt Mary Collett; Ralph Woodnoth, whose father's wealth could nowhere else procure him so sound a training; the poor almswidows, for whom Charles emptied his purse, "willing them to pray for him," &c.

did: four *biblical* books bound by them I have seen, and have heard of two others[1]: the three in the British Museum may fall under Mr. Carlyle's eye; if so, he will, I hope, join me in the wish that both our libraries enjoyed as stout, if not as gorgeous, a covering. "But if the books are not known to have been Prayer-books, why call them so?" It is for Mr. Carlyle to answer the question. I cannot go beyond a guess, that "the modern reader" might not have relished the implied sarcasm so keenly, if it had been levelled at the gospels. The same hypothesis will account for the next misstatement. "They kept up, night and day, a continual repetition of the English Liturgy." Night *and day*, did they? but let that pass. One can only reply that they might have been worse employed; and that, if for *English Liturgy* we had read *Psalms of David*, we might have bethought ourselves of a modern, who loudly trumpets forth those very Psalms, when degraded into a fanatical battle-cry.

"Well, at any rate, the Ferrars were far gone in Monachism; and that, surely, is priestcraft's most ensnaring invention." Perhaps so; but it is not obvious, how a family which saw six daughters out of eight well bestowed in marriage, can be claimed as devotees of celibacy: had their mother been the most scheming of dowagers, she could

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[1] See the Index, s.v. *Bookbinding*.

scarcely have repined at such a proportion of successes. "They followed merely religious duties:" in one sense this is true; every social duty was to them a duty of religion: in another it is most false; the time they spent in prayer or devout meditation was won from sleep, from idleness, and from pleasure, not from offices to which their station called them: of this the Collett letters afford superfluous proof.

But to do full justice to the keenness[1] with which Mr. Carlyle has "looked" through the spectacles of Lenton's—I beg pardon, that "most sharp, distinct man's," that "Anonymous Person's"—"clear eyes," we must examine the sentence which is the foundation of the whole charge (or insinuation rather, for your master of effect can make or blast a reputation by a turn of expression) in the light of the paraphrase which adapts it to the comprehension of the nineteenth century.

| ANONYMOUS PERSON. | MR. CARLYLE. |
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| This, as all other our discourse, being ended with mildness and moderation, on his part at least, I said farther, since their devotions (from which they would be loth to be diverted or interrupted, as in the said protestation appears) are more strict and regular than usual, if in their consciences they were | The Anonymous Person, after some survey and communing, suggested to Nicholas Ferrar, 'Perhaps he had but *assumed* all this ritual mummery, in order to get a devout life led peaceably in these bad |

[1] "The duke said, *Envy was quick-sighted. Nay,* said the palsgrave, *can see what is not.*"—*Infra,* p. 150.

ANONYMOUS PERSON.

persuaded that all their formalities and ceremonies were but *adiaphora* (things indifferent), I then thought they were as wise as serpents, in the scripture sense, in complying so with the church ceremonies, that they might the safelier hold on their course without exception. For in this comportment, I thought, authority would not except against them, unless for exceeding the cathedrals; who make but one reverence, whereas they make three. He said, I spake like one who seemed to have had experience in the world.

MR. CARLYLE.

times.' Nicholas, a dark man, who had acquired something of the Jesuit in his Foreign travels, looked at him ambiguously, and said, 'I perceive you are a person who know the world!'

Had Mr. Carlyle's blunders been mere blunders of haste, I should not have dwelt thus long upon them; but they seem to be owing to the evil habit, fostered by ministering to a vitiated literary taste, of sacrificing rigid exactness to rounded periods or epigrammatic smartness[1]. Be this as it may, when a man, who, though ever dinning in our ears that all around him is a moral and spiritual desert, yet offers no practical suggestion for reclaiming the waste,—when such a man presumes to scoff at one whose whole life was self-denial, because he did only

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[1] *Populus vult decipi et decipietur.* "This also, as a feature of the times, the modern reader is to meditate."

such charitable work as was possible in a desert, it is vain to palliate his guilt by the plea, the pitiful plea, of carelessness[1].

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Two questions, of immediate urgency, may find a solution in academic memoirs of the seventeenth century. Would we ascertain the efficacy and value of religious tests; the sufferings of non-conformists, non-covenanters, non-engagers, nonjurors, furnish abundant matter for grave and impartial reflection. Do we ask, whether rhetoric, logic, metaphysics (to say nothing of moral philosophy and systematic

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[1] A long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Carlyle's writings has, I hope, unfitted me alike for the creeping idolatry, and the fierce invective, of which he has been alternately the victim. That I regard his Cromwell as an important accession to a commonwealth library, I would gladly prove by some better offering than the only one which I have at hand,—a reference to some letters printed in Dickinson's *Newark*, 119, 120. But, having been constrained to mention him, I cannot forbear to protest against the contumelious rudeness which he has thought fit to bring back into literature. Other students have been annoyed by the dulness, thoughtlessness, or dishonesty of their predecessors; perhaps hardly any one has ever really studied a subject without annoyance of the kind: but few, assuredly, have given vent to their annoyance in so unmannerly a strain. Only listen. "Carrion Heath," "Mark Noble, my reverend imbecile friend," "Peter Heylin's (lying Peter's) history," "Bishop Hacket and the Futile Ingenuities," "stupid Saunderson," &c. &c.

theology) may safely be banished from a great seminary of the church; we must compare the Cambridge divines bred before and after that revolution, by which the mathematical and physical sciences supplanted our statutory course. I have undertaken this series, partly in the hope of shedding light on points such as these, but mainly because, deriving from a public foundation leisure for research and access to rare or manuscript sources, I view these opportunities as imposing a strict obligation to share them, so far as may be, with less privileged students. Else I might well have hesitated to intrude into a province of literature on which I can bestow but a secondary care. As it is, I must only strive to apply sound discretion to select, and gradually widening information to illustrate, each successive volume: completeness, for the present at least, is beyond my reach.

Defective, however, as the execution of my task may be, it would have been far more so, but for assistance on all hands liberally accorded. To William Hopkinson, Esq., of Stamford, my thanks are pre-eminently due. If Gidding church now reflects the image[1] of days which have thrown a

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[1] See Appendix, p. 300, for a list of existing relics. A slight account of the restorations may interest those who design a pilgrimage to the spot. The little edifice (nave inside 36 ft. 9 inches × 13 . 6; chancel 22 . 7 × 11 . 7: width of front

saintly halo around it, and if the estate once more presents a smiling contrast to the neighbouring parishes, all is owing to the impression made on his boyish sympathies some sixty years ago by a perusal of Ferrar's life. Thenceforth Gidding was to him a hallowed name, though many years elapsed before he visited the place, and more before he could call it his own. This zeal for the subject of my

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17. 10) is of brick, except the stone front, which was put up in 1714, probably on the removal of the organ gallery (p. 284). Certain it is that John Ferrar's tomb, once adjoining the west door (p. 54), is now seven or eight feet from it. The inside is fitted like a college chapel, with oak pannelling (that on the right having come down from Ferrar's time) and stalls. In the right window of the nave, next the chancel arch, are king Charles's arms, with text above, *Ut si quis perdicem in montibus;* and inscription below, *Insignia Caroli Regis qui latitabat apud Ferrarios 2do. Maii, A. S.* 1646. In the opposite window bishop Williams's arms (of Williams and Lincoln) with text, *Non avarus, sed hospitalis.* &c. In the left window next the door N. F.'s arms (on a bend gu. cottised ar. 3 horse shoes ar. 3 horse shoes or. Crest, an ostrich proper holding in his beak a horse shoe or. Motto, *Ferre va ferme*), with text, *Ecce vere Israelita, cui dolus non est,* &c. In the opposite window Wm. Hopkinson's arms, with text, *Diligo Habitaculum Domus Tuæ,* and inscription *Insignia Gulielmi Hopkinson, Domini Manerii de Gidding Parvâ, qui hanc Ecclesiam restauravit, et has Fenestras (sacrum munus) dicavit. A. S.* 1853. The chalice and patine, given by Mr. H. on the feast of St. John the Evangelist (the patron saint), 1853, have each an appropriate inscription. The brasses from the family tombs have been fixed up in the church. N. F.'s tomb (an altar-tomb) has neither brass nor inscription.

inquiries, with his active habits, large acquaintance, unparalleled memory, and great antiquarian knowledge, rendered Mr. Hopkinson's co-operation indispensable to my success. And most freely have the trustworthy evidences[1] of titledeeds, registers, inscriptions, pedigrees, letters, been placed at my disposal; while my own search has been profitably directed to quarters, to which, without such introduction, I might never have applied, or might have applied in vain.

To sir Thos. Phillipps, Bart., whose collection of books and MSS., both in value, and in the generosity which throws it open to the stranger, outdoes many public libraries; to the Rev. E. Atkinson of Clare Hall; the Rev. Dr. Cookson, master of Peterhouse; Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum; the Rev. D. J. Hopkins, rector of Hartford, Hunts.; Arthur Sperling, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn; the Rev. Wm. Whall, rector of Little Gidding; the Rev. Dr. Wynter, president of St. John's College, Oxford; and *of course* to the Rev. J. Romilly, registrar of Cambridge University, I am indebted for admission to documents under their care, or for other like services. Some readers also, I would fain believe, will display their interest in Nicholas Ferrar, by removing

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[1] See in the Appendix a full account of all the authorities which I have used.

any blemishes[1] which may deface this monument to his fame; or by taking steps in order that the excellent family portraits[2], which have descended to our time, may be made accessible in engravings not unworthy of their subjects.

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[1] The faults in spelling are to be laid to my account. If ever *height, judgment,* or the like forms, are found, it is the printer's correction, or my inadvertence. The analogy of *depth, breadth,* &c. and great authority (*e.g.* Milton's) support *highth. Judgement, acknowledgement,* &c. were current in the days of the Ferrars (*e.g.* they occur in the MS. preface to one of their concordances), and still survive in the Prayer-book and in the usage of many of our best writers. Those who drop the *e* should also, to be consistent, write (as Burnet did) *judg, colledg,* &c. I blush to think, that it is necessary to defend the orthodox *contemporary.* When, however, not merely ephemeral writers, but scholars like Mr. Stanley and Mr. Trench, countenance the heresy, it is high time to revive Bentley's anathema: "the Examiner's *cotemporary,* which is a downright Barbarism. For the Latins never use *co* for *con,* except before a vowel, as *coequal, coeternal;* but, before a consonant, they either retain the N, as *contemporary, constitution;* or melt it into another letter, as *collection, comprehension.* So that the Examiner's *cotemporary* is a word of his own *coposition,* for which the Learned World will *cogratulate* him." *Preface to Diss.* p. lv. Dyce. See Salter's note on the passage.

[2] Appendix, p. 295 seq.

# LIFE

OF

# NICHOLAS FERRAR

BY

## HIS BROTHER JOHN.

*Nulla virtus latet, et latuisse non ipsius est damnum: veniet, qui conditam et seculi sui malignitate compressam dies publicet. paucis natus est, qui populum ætatis suæ cogitat: multa annorum milia, multa populorum supervenient: ad illa respice. etiamsi omnibus tecum viventibus silentium livor indixerit, venient, qui sine offensa, sine gratia judicent. si quod est pretium virtutis ex fama, nec hoc interit. ad nos quidem nihil pertinebit posterorum sermo: tamen etiam non sentientes colet ac frequentabit. Nulli non virtus et vivo et mortuo retulit gratiam, si modo illam bona secutus est fide, si se non exornavit et pinxit, sed idem fuit, sive ex denuntiato videbatur, sive inparatus ac subito. Nihil simulatio proficit. paucis inponit leviter extrinsecus inducta facies: veritas in omnem sui partem eadem est. Quæ decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. tenue est mendacium: perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.*

Sen. *Ep.* LXXIX. §§ 17, 18.

# LIFE OF NICHOLAS FERRAR[1].

WHEN he was born, his parents had then alive two sons more[2] and two daughters[3]; so we account him the third son. He came into the world Febr. 22, An. 1592[4], was christened the 28th day in the parish of St. Mary Stayning, in Mark Lane, London, named Nicholas after the name of his father; a lovely child, fair and of bright hair like his mother. The Bible was the book in the world to him dear and precious. The next book, the Book

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[1] Baker heads the MS.

"Some directions for the collecting materials for the writing the life of Mr. Nich. Ferrar. Then follows the account of his life, beginning, *In the name of God, Amen.*

"N. B. This is only an extract of a much larger account."

[2] John and Erasmus.

[3] Susanna, afterwards Mrs. Collett, alone is *named* in Peckard's *Life.*

[4] 1592-3.

of Martyrs, he took great delight in; and the story of bishop Ferrar[1] he had perfect, as for his name's sake.

2. About the year 1598, the bishop of London held at St. Magnus's Church a confirmation[2], whither Mr. Francis his schoolmaster brought the said Nicholas Ferrar to be confirmed, as he was the second time by his own contrivance, and being asked by his master, *Why did you so?* replied cheerfully, *I did it because it was a good thing to have the bishop's prayers and blessing twice, and I have got it.* And now his parents resolved to send him and his brother William to a school in Berkshire, near to Newbury, to one Mr. Brooks's house, a minister

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[1] See the "Martyrdome of Doctor Robert Farrar, Bishop and Martyr, at Carmarthen. Anno 1555, March 30," in Fox, (1413, ed. 1597.)

[2] "He seldom travelled but notice being given before, he staid at some town or village, to confirm such as were but even past children, to lay his hands on them, and to bless them, and did it oftener than the 60 canon requires: an ancient and an admirable order, when such were presented as were before made ready by being exactly catechized."—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 61. "Why do we confirm little children, whom in all reason we cannot suppose to be capable and receptive of such graces?"—"There is a third way, which the church of England and Ireland follows, that after infancy, but yet before they understand too much of sin... then it is good to bring them to be confirmed."—"The sooner the better, I mean after that reason begins to dawn."—Jer. Taylor, *Disc. of Confirm.* § 7 (v. 661, 663, 664, new ed.). Herbert (*Country Parson*, c. xxii.) recommends early admission to the Communion.

and their old acquaintance, a famous man when he lived in the Old Jewry, London[1], who had already their two elder sons there at school, and thirty gentlemen and merchants' sons of London, keeping a schoolmaster in his house to teach all of them; he only had an eye upon their learning and good manners, who himself was a very severe man, and with his very looks kept all his boarders in exceeding great awe and reverence.

3. While preparations were making to send them, it pleased God to permit a sore and grievous temptation to befall Nicholas Ferrar, that wonderfully perplexed his body and mind, *Whether there was a God, and how to be served.* One night, which was cold and frosty, he riseth out of his bed, for sleep he could not, and goes down to a green grass-plat in the garden, and throws himself upon his face on the ground, and with extreme perplexity of grief sobs sighs and abundance of tears, earnestly with all his strength, humbly begged of God that *He would put into his heart the true fear and care of His Divine Majesty, and that this fear and love of God might never depart out of his mind, and that he might know, how he must serve Him.* After much bitter weeping he felt his heart much eased, and comforts began to come to it, and[2] to have an assurance of

[1] Rob. Brooks, M.A. was instituted vicar of St. Olave Jewry, Aug. 27, 1593, being thereunto presented by the crown; and rector of Wodeham Walter in Essex, Dec. 12, 1619 (Newcourt, i. 515, ii. 605).

[2] Supply [*he began*].

God, and the doubt began to pass away and his heart was much cheered. He then rose up, and went up to his chamber to bed again, but could not sleep but little, yet he found daily more and more confirmation in his soul, and so had all his lifetime after a more than ordinary fear of God in him, and His presence, which continued in him to his dying day[1].

4. He went to Enborne[2] school, near Newbury, Berks, and such a progress he made in Latin, logic, and Greek, as he was the prime scholar of his years, to the admiration not only of his schoolmaster, but of Mr. Brooks himself. Mr. Brooks grew proud of his scholar, and though he was not attained to above thirteen years of age, earnestly persuaded his parents to remove him to the university of Cambridge, *For* (said he) *he loseth precious time, and is more than fit for the university;* and soon after he would needs carry him to Cambridge, to Clare Hall, and there presents him to his tutor, Dr. Linsell, then but a senior fellow; Dr. Smith[3] was master. He gave such a character of Nicholas Ferrar as they all admired,

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[1] The story told by Dr. Worthington (Hearne, *Caii Vind.* 685) though the time (a night in *summer*) and place (a *garret*) are different, seems only another version of this. On Dr. W.'s notice of Ferrar compare *Letters from the Bodleian*, ii. 79.

[2] 2½ miles south-west of Newbury.

[3] William Smith, D.D. master of Clare 1601, provost of King's Aug. 22, 1612, vicechancellor 1602, died Mar. 26, 1615. On his appointment as master, see Baker's MSS. xxvii. 16–19, xxix. 382. The presentation had lapsed to the chancellor.

and all confessed afterwards was so. His parents thought it most fit to have him the first year but a pensioner, and let his first year's approbation and merit raise him up fellow-commoner; performing all such exercises as were appointed him in that first year[1], nay month, to the admiration of all, his tutor's wonder,—that learned man, Dr. Aug. Linsell[2], afterwards bishop of Hereford, where he died. He (N. F.) was ever observed by all to be as diligent at chapel as he was at his book. The second year his tutor, &c., would have him fellow-commoner[3].

5. Dr. Rob. Byng to Mr. Barnabas Oley[4].

Sir,

Concerning your request in your second letter, I wish I was as able as I am willing to deliver the

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[1] "Notwithstanding the exemption which fellow-commoners in colleges are ready to plead from the performance of them [exercises in the university and college]."—Clarke's *Martyrologie* (1651), 419. "The fellow-commoners in Balliol were no more exempt from exercise than the meanest scholars there."—Evelyn's *Diary*, May 10, 1637.

[2] Augustine Linsell (Lynsell or Lindsell) bishop of Peterborough in 1632, and of Hereford in 1633–4. "A man of very great learning; of which he gave sufficient proof by setting forth an excellent edition of Theophylact upon St. Paul's Epistles."—*Fast. Oxon.* i. 360. See Kennett's notice of him, (Lansd. MS. 984. Art. 113).

[3] The necessary annual charges of a fellow-commoner at this time did not exceed £60 (D'Ewes's *Life*, i. 119).

[4] The letter which follows is printed from Peckard, 29–34; Baker omitted it.

choicest virtues of our dear and worthy friend Mr. N. Ferrar unto posterity: whom as I truly loved whilst he lived, so I am one that shall ever honour his blessed memory.

As for the time of his admission into our college of Clare Hall, he was, as I did then guess by his stature and dimensions, about thirteen years of age, when yet his deportment was such as spake him more a man than many are at four and twenty: there was so sweet a mixture in him of gravity with affability, and modesty with civility.

After the commendable performances of his acts *in Scholis Publicis*, it pleased the university to grace him with the degree of bachelor of arts. And his worth was so well known in the college, that he was selected to make the oration upon the coronation day (as I remember) after his proceeding; which he performed with great applause. And the then master of the college, Dr. Smith, was thereupon so taken with him, that he was pleased to ask a near friend of his, whether the young gentleman did intend to continue in the life of a scholar. And receiving answer, that it was his settled resolution, he was not nice to express his good opinion of him to be such as he thought him well worthy to be elected into our society. Wherein he shewed himself to be most real, by making choice of him at the very next election, with the unanimous consent of all the co-electors then present at the meeting for that purpose.

From that time to the taking of his next degree he was a constant resident with us in our college; during which space his comportment was such in all respects, as that it was exemplary not only to his puisnes and compeers, but to many who were much his ancients, who were all so much pleased with his company, as that they thought themselves happiest, who most enjoyed it.

As he was ever a most constant student, so none more careful to give his attendance on the college chapel at times of prayer, where he did so frequently officiate himself in person, as if he had been the college conduct, and bound to perform that exercise *ex officio*. Whereas he was tied thereunto only for a week when it came to his turn.

Soon after his admission *ad incipiendum in artibus* (to the best of my remembrance) and before his creation *in majoribus comitiis* (having obtained leave both from his parents and the college) he began his travels into foreign parts. Where how long he continued, his brother Mr. John Ferrar can best inform you. But so well did he improve the time that he spent therein, as that beside the knowledge which he had gained in the principal of the western languages, Low and High Dutch, Italian, French and Spanish, he was able to make relation observable of the most remarkable passages which had been incident to any of those places where he had made any considerable abode: as myself, with many others who had the happiness to hear him discourse thereof, can give due testimony.

From the time of his return unto the college, as he continued ever an indefatigable student, so he was an extraordinary proficient, as having attained within a few years unto that degree of knowledge in divinity, that he did not only overtake, but get the start of many who were much his ancients, and such as were worthily held in reputation for their great learning by the ablest divines both in the college and the university. Which was the less to be wondered at in our worthy friend, because as he was of a very sharp wit and most clear comprehension, so also of a most solid judgement and retaining memory. By means whereof he could fully render the resultance[1] of any author he had gone through, as myself can testify amongst others of his consorts. In which respect as he had not many peers, so he had few who could compare with him for his exact skill in the book of books, the Holy Scriptures; which he made from his cradle, as I may say, so familiar to him by his daily and diligent reading and meditating thereon, as that he was able to turn readily to any place without the help of a concordance.

Certes, Sir, to give him his due commendation, I may truly say that he was *Homo perpaucorum hominum*[2], *et ad omnia natus.*

In all which respects as he was eminent whilst he was a commorant in the university, so he gave

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[1] "What would be the resultance of such a persuasion?" —Hoard's *God's Love to Mankind*, 42. Cf. Richardson.

[2] Cf. Heind. on Hor. S. i. 9. 44.

full demonstration thereof to his dearest and nearest friends at Little Gidding, where in his last and best times he was a burning and a shining light. And therefore I advise the writer of his life to repair to such of his friends as are there yet living, who are able to furnish him with such store of choice materials and so exactly squared unto his hands, as they will both head and bed (as our country masons used to speak) in the goodly structure which he is now erecting for the preservation of his precious memory here on earth, who now shines more gloriously *inter stellas primæ magnitudinis* among the ever-blessed saints in the highest heavens. *Tuus ex animo,*

ROBERTUS BYNG [1].

ASHLINGTON com. Wilts,
Idibus Septembris 1654.

To his much respected friend Mr. Oley, at Mr. Garthwaites, stationer, at the north door of St. Paul's. These present.

6. During his (N. F.) being at Clare Hall he had an only sister then living married to one Mr. John Collett, who lived at Bourne, some five [2] miles off Cambridge. This sister he loved entirely, she being a lover of learning,—often resorted to her house, and his tutor and fellows; had divers young nieces, bred up with their mother, trained up in daily reading chapters in the Bible and

[1] B.A. 1596–7. M.A. 1600. D.D. 1630.

[2] All the distances in this life are under the truth. Bourne (near Caxton) is about ten miles from Cambridge.

David's psalms, whom he instructed in all good things, with exhortations in writing and letters.

7. Being at Cambridge, that air was not very proper to his tender constitution, which was delicate. He was much subject to agues and aguish distempers. Dr. Butler[1] was his physician, who was a Clare Hall man, and one that loved his tutor Linsell very well; and Mr. Lake[2], Mr. Ruggle[3],

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[1] See Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 119 seq., the *Cambridge Portfolio*, ii. 489 seq., Fuller, *Hist. Cambr.* sect. viii. § 4, and *Worthies* in *Suffolk*, Clarke's *Martyrologie* (ed. 1651), 476, 482. His epitaph is in Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglic.* i. 64.

[2] William Lake, who acted *Trico*, when *Ignoramus* was represented before James I, March 8, 1614–5. Nichols's *Progresses*, ii. 53. He was M.A. and fellow of Clare in 1619 (Baker's MS. x. 156).

[3] Author of *Ignoramus*, who appointed his "dear and loving friends, Mr. Doctor *Winston*, and Mr. *Nicholas Ferrar*, to be supervisors and overseers of this my last will and testament, desiring them to be an aid and ease to Sir *Edmond Varney* in what they may; and I give and bequeath unto either of them five pounds a-piece, over and above the former legacies which by this my will I have bequeathed unto them." He had before bequeathed to them and to his "worthy friends of *Clare* Hall," *Augustine Linsell*, doctor of divinity, Mr. *William Lake* &c. "a ring of gold, of the value of forty shillings a-piece." *Will* in Hawkins's ed. of *Ignoramus*, cii, xcvi, xcvii. dated Sept. 6, 1621, and proved Nov. 3, 1622. Another item in the will was no doubt due to the influence of Nicholas Ferrar. "I give and bequeath one hundred pounds towards the bringing up of the infidels' children in Virginia in Christian religion, which my will is

and other of the fellows,—they carried him to Dr. Butler,—he gave him physic. His aguish disposition grew yearly more and more upon him. Physic not prevailing, the doctor advised a spare good diet and great temperance, and so to starve his distemper. Which not being so to be overcome, the doctor advised travel.

8. At this time he was by standing to be made master of arts at midsummer, when he performed all private and public acts, with approbation of the college and university, and to his own high commendation.

He went with the lady Elizabeth to conduct her to the Palatinate, with her husband the Palgrave. It was propounded that he might have the

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shall be disposed of by the Virginia company accordingly, principally for the increasing of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."—*Ibid.* xciv, xcv. Collections for the purpose were recommended in a letter of James I. (Anderson's *Colonial Church*, i. 314 seq., Stith's *Virginia*, 162). Nicholas Ferrar the father bequeathed £300 ("Master *Nicolas Ferrar* deceased hath by his will giuen three hundred pounds to the Colledge in *Virginia*, to bee paid when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it. And in the meane time foure and twentie pounds by yeere, to bee distributed vnto three discreet and godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring vp three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to liue by."—Purchas, iv. 1777); and his two sons gave land and books for this holy work (Stith, 171, 172, bp. Turner's *Life*, Jebb, § 21, Peckard, 108). Nicholas Ferrar the son at one time purposed to undertake the mission himself (Peckard, 107).

favour from the university to receive the full ceremonies, though before the usual time, and so to be complete master of arts before his departure, which they readily and willingly condescended to; and so his graces were given him in an extraordinary manner, and soon after he departed the university[1].

9. With his parents' and college leave he goes abroad, well grounded in the verity of the protestant religion and faith of the Church of England; and as Dr. Butler said the sea would purge that humour and they should soon hear he was freed from that infirmity, he (N. F.) found his words true and grew daily better and better.

10. Now before this was Dr. Scott[2], the king's sub-almoner, made master of Clare Hall, in Dr. Smith's place, who was removed to be provost of King's College; who[3] took him (N. F.) to court along with him, to kiss her (lady Eliz.) hand, not now in the garb of a scholar, but as one of the gentlemen[4] that belonged to her, his parents having

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[1] "Then follows a copy of a very pious and instructive paper, that he left before his going abroad, dated 10th of April, 1613." Baker; who omitted the paper, which is given in Jebb, § 7.

[2] Robert Scott, D.D., master of Clare from 1612 to Dec. 1620, vicechancellor 1619, "admitted dean of Rochester 12th July 1615, died 23rd Dec. 1620. His will, dated 22nd July 1620, was proved 9th Jan. 1620–1." Hardy's Le Neve, ii. 577. See Appendix.

[3] i. e. Dr. Scott.

[4] "In the garb and notion of a gentleman, with his scarlet cloak and gold hat-band."—Clarke's *Martyrologie*, 493.

thought fit so to apparel him, and that he might, according to the guise of the time, thereby amongst courtiers and strangers have the more respect and admittance into all places and company. Also Dr. Scott procured the knowledge and acquaintance of all the whole attendance[1] that then went with the lady. Landed at Flushing: the sea-passage did clear him of the dregs of his aguish distemper.

11. The princess royal steering towards the Palatinate, which way he intended not to go, but resolved to pass through Westphalia, and so to Bremen, Stade, Hamburg, Luneburg, Lubeck, Leipzig, and so to the upper parts of Germany, he made his determination known to the lady Elizabeth's chief attendance, who would have persuaded him to go to her highness's court at Heidelberg, and gave him expectations of being her secretary[2]. He humbly thanked them, went with them and kissed her royal hand, whom she bid farewell, and wished him much happiness in his travels.

12. He came to Leipzig,—where he made some stay for the sake of the university,—from thence to Prague, Augsburg, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Spires to the emperor's court, and made his observations in all places.

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Four gentlemen were to attend the princess, at a salary of £20 per ann. (Mrs. Green's *Lives of the Princesses*, v. 218).

[1] "A retinue or train of servants."—Phillips, *World of Words*.

[2] At a salary of £50 (Mrs. Green, u. s.).

From Germany he bent his course to Italy. He came to Venice, and presented himself to sir Dudley Carleton[1], then ambassador there, to whom (being thereto encouraged) he often repaired.

13. Having spent some time in Italy at Venice, Padua, &c., resolves to see Rome; and what was to be seen in those ten days he stayed there, he omitted not. From thence to Marseilles in France,—and by sea to Spain,—to Madrid, Sebastian, and so to England,—landed at Dover,—fell upon his face, kissed the ground, and gave God thanks for bringing him safe from manifold perils,—came by post to London to his father and mother, whom he parted with five years ago; his father then aged 72 years, his mother 62 years[2].

14. Anno 1619. Now after some small time after his return, having given satisfaction to all friends concerning his travels, he was in some thought to settle himself again at Cambridge, he holding there the place of physician: but his parents, now growing old, would upon no terms let him live from them. And then found his brother John

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[1] Ambassador from Nov. 1610 to the end of 1615. See Lord Hardwicke's *preface* to Carleton's *Despatches*. "We had here... two gentlemen, whereof one is a Scottishman, and a pensioner, who were of the lady Elizabeth's train." *Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain.* Venice, July 9, 1613, in Birch's *Court of James I.* i. 255. Ferrar however cannot have been at Venice so early as this.

[2] On the portraits painted by Cornelius Janssen in 1617 their ages are given as 71 and 62 years respectively.

Ferrar[1] in the great employments in the Virginia plantations and company, one of the king's counsel for those affairs, and soon after chosen deputy of the company, sir Edwin Sandys[2] that most learned knight and wise patriot chosen governor. Very great was the reputation of the plantation and company, by the most wise, prudent, and industrious management of it by that most eminent man, intended to be chosen again for that year next ensuing. A bedchamber man and another courtier declared unto the court, that the king's pleasure was not to have sir Edwin Sandys chosen a second year to govern the company. The earl of Southampton[3] was chosen governor and John Ferrar deputy[4]. And thus began the year 1620.

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[1] "The *Garland* of two hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in June, 1619, for M. *John Ferrars* Plantation, with fortie fiue persons, who are yet detained in the *Summer* Ilands."—Purchas, iv. 1776.

[2] The pupil of Hooker, "treasurer to the undertakers for the western plantations, which he effectually advanced."—Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 473. He succeeded sir Thomas Smith in the office of treasurer [A. D. 1619], and John Ferrar succeeded Ald. Johnson in that of deputy (Anderson's *Colonial Church*, i. 313, Bancroft's *Hist. of the Un. States*, ch. 4, Purchas, iv. 1775, Birch's *Court of James I.* ii. 161).

[3] Henry Wriothesley, third earl, the patron of Shakespeare, elected 1620. (Birch's *Court of James I.* ii. 206). He was educated in St. John's Coll. Cambridge.

[4] There were only three dissentient voices out of near five hundred, (Peckard, 102). See Anderson, 327, n. 40. "To sir *Edwin Sands* in the Treasurership succeeded the right

15. Mr. Briggs, that famous, industrious, learned mathematician, that was reader at Gresham college[1], and after chosen to be professor at Oxford, would solemnly affirm (he being one of the Virginia company, and a great lover of Nicholas Ferrar) that in that art and science he far passed him. When he was to leave the place and go to Oxford, he went to the mercers' company, who have the giving of that place[2], *that they should by all means go to Mr. N. Ferrar, and entreat him to accept of the place: for he was like, if he set to it, to be the ablest man in the world. He thought so of him, and would for ever honour the city that he was born in.* The masters and wardens of that company of mercers came to persuade him to accept of it, neither could it hinder him much in his other designs, for it was but in term time. He most humbly thanked them, but said *his good friend Mr. Briggs was much mistaken in him, his affection and goodness*

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Honorable *Henry* Earle of *Southampton*, whose industry together with that of those two brethren *John* and *Nicolas Farrars* the successive deputies have giuen much content to many, but to diuers others matter of complaint; wherein I am an unfit Judge."—Purchas, iv. 1779.

[1] See Biogr. Brit., Ward's *Gresham Professors*, Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 491. He resigned his Gresham professorship July 25, 1620. In 1622 he published a 4to tract on *The North-west Passage to the South Sea, through the continent of Virginia and Hudson's Bay.*

[2] The mercers (says Ward in Peckard, 93, n.) appoint to the chairs of law, physic and rhetoric; the city to those of divinity, astronomy, geometry and music.

*towards him had misled his judgement:—he best knew his own infirmities, prayed them to pitch upon some worthy man, whereof Mr. Briggs knew many, but for himself he must not undertake that, which he was but a novice in at best.*

16. *The sixth stage of his life after his father's death* (1620)[1], *and his abode there at London with his mother unto* 1624, *that he went to Gidding, his ordering his father's estate, continuation in the Virginia business, chosen deputy to the company under the earl of Southampton's time of government, chosen parliament man* 1624, *helps his brother John in his private estate.*

17. Now his father being dead, and he his sole executor, and with all care, love, and fidelity ordering and managing it, and being a continual exceeding stay and comfort to his dear mother,—she not permitting him to be absent from her, but to reside with her in her house, many daily occurrents happened, wherein he shewed his great wisdom and dexterity. His father left him an estate[2].

18. Now I shall relate briefly, that in the year 1624 he was chosen a parliament man, so great was his reputation and worth. An intention there was that there should be a complaint made to the parliament of those several persons that had abused the king's ears, and so highly wronged the company,

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[1] See Appendix.

[2] "Then follows a long and large account of the Virginia affair &c." BAKER.

whereof as one of the actors and principal contrivers was the lord treasurer Cranfield, earl of Middlesex. The parliament sat, and Nicholas Ferrar being in many things made of the committee, often was chosen by the committee to make report of such things to the house[1]. All which he performed so well and pleasingly, that there was great notice taken of him, and in that parliament besides sir Edwin Sandys, there were above one hundred parliament men, that were of the Virginia company, and all these did to their fellow parliament men highly extol Nicholas Ferrar. Amongst other things, at last came in a charge against the earl of Middlesex, then lord treasurer, for bribes[2] and other exorbitances, and in fell the Virginia affairs and his activity to take the patent from the company, under the pretence that it should be and yield to the king a greater revenue than it did, if it were ordered by his directions. Now the house appointed the lord Devonshire, then a member of the lower house[3], sir Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar to draw up the

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[1] *Commons' Journals*, March 13, April 26, 29, May 19 (a.m. and p.m.), 20, 22, 24, 25, 28. See a long account of the company in Peckard, 84–168, and the authorities in Anderson, i. 352 seq.

[2] See the proceedings in *Lords' Journals*, Apr. 8, 1624, et seq. esp. Apr. 16, Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* i. 1411–1477, Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i. 189, *Cabala* (ed. 1663), 327.

[3] Lord William Cavendish is mentioned as one of the chief promoters of this charge in *Lords' Journals*, Apr. 15, 1624. Cf. *Comm. Journ.* Apr. 23.

charge against him and all those others that had been ill instruments in that vile action. This was not long a doing, they having the materials ready in their hands, and brought it to the house, and the house turned into a committee to hear it. And so well it was handled, that the longest and largest part fell to Nicholas Ferrar, who though he was long above an hour, the abundance of matter that he had to deliver requiring it, yet he[1] with that eloquence of speech, solid matter, and every way most pleasing substance, as the house liked him so well, as many said when he had ended, *they wished he had as much more to say:* so great contentment and delight he gave to their ears. And from that time forth every parliament man was very willing to be acquainted with him; for then he was fully even in his abilities. In brief, his charge stuck so fully home upon the treasurer, that it was said, it laid such load as it helped much to sink him at that time. He was put out of the house of lords, fined, &c.[2] Many desired to have his speech, but he craved pardon. The Virginia business was close followed and put on sir Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar by that parliament; and the parliament so sensible of the great benefit and happiness that might in short time happen to England in many respects, and what an affrightment the Spaniard took at the then reputation of the action,

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[1] Supply [*spoke*].

[2] *Lords' Journ.* May 13, 1624.

that the house resolved to take all into their consideration, and the lords joined in the business, and they would have confirmed the company and plantation by act of parliament. But king James then sent them a message[1], *that he had and would take it into his serious consideration and care, and by the next parliament they should all see it, he would make it one of his masterpieces, as he said it well deserved to be.* And thus the matter then stood: but God knows, these were but fair words, as the event shewed, for all was let loose and to go to six and seven, as the proverb is, which requires a long story, not here to be inserted.

19. But Nicholas Ferrar, before the *Quo Warranto* came out[2],—foreseeing the storm, as he feared they would cause all the court-books, registers, and all writings, instructions, letters, &c. to be taken from the company's hand,—did fairly copy out all the court-books, registers, &c. (which cost him £50), carried them to the noble earl of Southampton and gave them him[3].

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[1] See *Commons' Journals*, Apr. 29 (779 *a*, ad fin.), May 25 (794 *b*).

[2] Stith's *History of Virginia*, 298 seq. On the 10th of November, 1623 (Bancroft's *Hist. of the Un. States*, 77, Edinburgh, 1848).

[3] See Peckard, 154 seq. "The copy, having been purchased by a Virginian, was consulted by Stith, and gave to his history the authority of an original record."—Bancroft, u. s. who refers to Burk, i. 274, Hening, i. 76.—Baker adds "*Then*

20. Anno 1625. The great plague then began to rage in the city. On Whitsun-eve 1625 he came to his mother, told her the danger he conceived of any further stay[1], then presently to depart; sent for a coach, and that night, she and her family, son John, &c., went to their house at Hertford, twenty miles from London, and so on Whitsun-Monday away to Bourne in Cambridgeshire, to her daughter Collett's.

21. He (N. F.) stayed behind to settle his affairs, and his brother John Ferrar's business, and as soon as may be would go to Gidding, giving order to his brother John Ferrar to make some chambers and lodgings ready. His brother (J. F.) repaired to Gidding (a lordship that his mother had bought a year before), there to make up lodgings, for the house was no better than all ruinated, and unfit every way to be dwelt in.

22. After this Nicholas Ferrar comes to Gidding, and after him his mother, who sends for her whole family to come from Bourne to her, her beloved daughter Collett and soon after all her children.

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*follows.* With the loss of £3000 he freed his brother John Ferrar out of troubles and dangers, he was involved in:—*and then a prayer of thanksgiving.*" The prayer is given from Peckard in the Appendix.

[1] The plague was in the next house. Peckard, 169. See Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 13, Clarke's *Lives*, &c. (ed. 1677) 400, 401.

23. Anno 1626. N. F. at this time grew to a full resolution and determination of that thing and course of life he had so often wished for, and longingly desired. And that week before Whitsunday gave himself to a very private retirement, both in his thoughts and in his person, and was observed to fast much, eat sparingly, and sleep little, and on Whitsun-eve he was up all night in his study; but having at other times often used the like, he was not much regarded in it by any. N. F., without acquainting any of his friends (fearing that they might be a hindrance to his determination), having some time before only made his tutor, dean Linsell, acquainted with his mind, who was ravished with joy to hear the determination now to take effect, that he had so long wished and prayed for.

24. In Trinity Sunday early in the morning he went to his tutor, and so they two went to Westminster chapel, his tutor having before spoken with bishop Laud[1], then, as I take it, bishop of St. David's, to beseech him to be there, and to lay his hands upon him to make him a deacon[2]. For he

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[1] This is omitted in Laud's Diary. Laud and Linsell had a common patron (bp. Neile), and were close friends (Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 55, 69, 215, and the index to Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*, s. v. Lindsey).

[2] A far greater distinction was then made between the priesthood and diaconate than there is now: e. g. Herbert retained his sword and silk clothes until he was ordained priest; not till then did he tell his wife, "You are *now* a minister's wife."—Walton, xlvii.

told his tutor beforehand, he durst not presume to step one inch higher or further. So a deacon he was made. When all was done, his tutor told the bishop *he would much joy in the future, that he had laid his hands on such a man, whom he assured him he never had done, nor believed ever should in the future;* and much more he was pleased to say.

25. Towards evening N. F. came home to his mother, and prayed her to hear him read what he had to shew her written in vellum, which he drew forth of his breast, which read was the solemn vow he had therein made to God, written and signed with his own hand, and the effect was: *Seeing God had so often heard his most humble petitions, and had delivered him out of many most eminent dangers of soul and body, and now had brought his family out of most desperate calamities, whereinto they might have fallen if His mercy had not been infinite, he should now set himself to serve Him in such a calling,* &c. His mother (and other friends that stood, but were long time silent) then falling upon his neck, most tenderly weeping and kissing him, most affectionately and devoutly blessed him, most heartily praying to God to give him long life, and that he might be filled with God's Holy Spirit daily more and more, to His greater glory, and good of her and his family; adding, *I will also, by the help of my God, set myself with more care and diligence than ever to serve our good Lord God, as is all our duties to do, in all we may.*

26. This of Nicholas Ferrar becoming a deacon instantly spread over the court and city. Most men wondered; some censured him; sir Edwin Sandys was amazed at it, yet said, *he'll not be the less, but the better able to do the kingdom service in all kinds.* Sir Edwin was a most wise man, and loved him entirely, and esteemed him above what my words can express. And this his good opinion of Nicholas Ferrar continued to his dying day, though they lived far asunder. Witness his charge to his lady at his death[1], whom he made his executrix, to take Nicholas Ferrar's counsel in all the managing of his will and her affairs.

27. While Nicholas Ferrar was in London, returning to Gidding, the lords of the Virginia company hearing what he had done, as to become a deacon, supposing that now, though he had refused temporal preferments, he could not refuse spiritual, they parled with sir Edwin Sandys, that he would confer with him; and one of the lords[2] said, *I will give him a living worth £400 per an., if he would take it.* The other, not knowing of the other lord's intentions, told sir Edwin, that *he would help Nicholas Ferrar to a living of £300 per an.; or if he would*

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[1] Early in Oct. 1629 (Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 474). An interesting memorial of the friendship of Sandys and Ferrar is still preserved in the silver flagon at Little Gidding church. See Appendix.

[2] The two lords were the marquis of Hamilton and the earl of Pembroke (Peckard, 176).

*not accept of that, if he would but come and live with him in his house as his friend and companion, he would allow him £200 per an., only for his company.* Sir Edwin was earnest with him to accept of the offers, but Nicholas Ferrar excused himself as unworthy, and *his determination was to spend his life and time and talent in his own family*[1], *for whose benefit and help he had now parted with all his worldly estate amongst them:* and so besought sir Edwin *to give those noble lords all due and humble thanks for their undeserved good opinions of him.*

28. And now I shall offer to our historian the particular actions and more punctual actions of each day in the week, and what was performed by the family in their course of life. And to begin with the first and best day of the week, the Lord's day or Sunday, the action of that being different from those of the week-days. For matter of early rising that day, it was like that of the week, commonly about five o'clock in winter and four in summer. The daughters and younger children risen, having given God thanks for that night's preservation, and making them decently and speedily

[1] "My disposition chiefly inclining me to a life of devotional retirement, about which I did love to talk with worthy Mr. Thristcross, who knew Mr. Ferrar and Little Gidding, wishing there had been an increase of religious societies."—Worthington's *Diary*, i. 219 (in a letter to Dr. Sterne, Oct. 19, 1660).

ready, all things being fitted in their chambers for that intent; when ready, I say, they resort into a large great chamber fairly hung, where in winter before that hour is a good warm fire made by a servant, whose constant office it was (for every servant had their cue). There they always found Nicholas Ferrar ready to attend their coming. At this Sunday morning, as at others in the week-day, they repeated unto him such chapters and psalms as each were to give an account of without book. Then they retired themselves, and this day made their selves all more comely in their best attires, he persuading all sorts to be decent, neat, cleanly in their apparel, as a thing well-pleasing to God and man.

29. About nine o'clock the bell rung to go to church; then all assembled first up into the great chamber; then, all come, there was a hymn sung, and the organs played to it: which ended, each person said some sentence of scripture, such as they thought good, and so all went down to church (which stood by, —[1] paces from the house, at the end of the garden), in decent order two and two together, the three masters in gowns leading the way, and the young youths[2] in black gowns following them. Nicholas Ferrar led his mother, his two brothers, John Ferrar and Mr. Collett, going before her (after the children), and then followed their

[1] "About forty," says Lenton in his letter.

[2] "*A young youth.*" Laud's *Troubles and Tryal*, 609.

sister Collett and her daughters, and so all the servants, two by two: each as they came into the church making low obeisance[1], taking their places, the masters in the chancel, and the boys kneeling upon the upper step, which ascended up into the chancel from the church: the reading place and pulpit standing, each opposite to the other, by two pillars, at the ascent into the chancel, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, close to each side of the wall: old Mrs. Ferrar and all her daughters going into an isle of the church, that joined on the north side, close at the back of the reading-place, where all the women sat always. Nicholas

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[1] Lenton in Peckard, 300, 301. His account is thus distorted in the libellous "*Arminian Nunnery.*" "At the entrance whereof [*of the chapel*] this priestlike deft deacon made a low obeisance, a few paces farther lower, and coming to the half-pace which is at the east end where the *altered table* stood, he bowed and prostrated himself to the ground."—Hearne's *Langtoft*, cxxxiv. The original says expressly "the communion-table, not altar-wise, as reported."—Peckard, 298. The old custom here spoken of was charged upon Laud, when accused of high treason (*Troubles and Tryal*, 312, cf. 313, 315, 316): Dr. Featly testifies, "*That there were bowings at the coming into the chapel, and going up to the communion-table.*" See Laud's answer (ibid.), Bramhall's *Works* (Angl. Cath. Libr.), v. 77, Bingham, *Antiqu.* viii. 6, § 12, 10, § 7, and especially Jer. Taylor's tract, lately discovered, *On Reverence to the Altar*, Heylin's *Introduction* to *Cypr. Angl.* sect. 18, and the work itself, 378, 407, 409, Prynne's learned "*Quench-Coale*" (4to, 1637), 240–314, Crofton's *Altar-worship; or bowing to the Communion-Table considered*, 12mo, 1661.

Ferrar being in his surplice and hood[1] (for so in it he always went to church) stepped up into the reading-place, and there said divine service, and responses were made by all present, and the reading psalms were done so. This performed, being returned home, those that had the office (which were the elder nieces and some others of the family) in summer-time went and sat in a gallery, in winter in a room where a good fire was. Then they called the psalm-children to them, to hear them repeat without book their psalms. These psalm-children thus heard repeat their psalms, not only what they now learned that week (for which they were to have for each psalm a penny[2], and

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[1] The zeal with which the puritans denounced the surplice as popish and antichristian may be seen in Hooker, v. 29, Morton's *Defence of the innocencie of the three ceremonies*, &c., and the answers of Ames, Herbert's *Epigr. Apolog.* 14. The authorities on the other hand required *that all lecturers do read divine service according to the Liturgy... in their surplices and hoods.* (Laud's *Troubles and Tryal*, 517, 519, 521). Indeed Mr. Carlyle can discover in Laud nothing better than a fondness for "four surplices at Allhallow-tide;" a constantly recurring formula. More impartial students will not suffer their dislike of what Mr. Carlyle calls "ritual mummeries" to make them blind to the archbishop's energy, integrity, great learning and well-directed munificence.

[2] "So doth he also before giving make them say their prayers first, or the creed and ten commandments, and as he finds them perfect rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and secular, but this is to give like a priest."—Herbert's *Country Parson*, c. xii. ad fin. "They also take upon

some would gain twopence, some threepence, some fourpence),—but when all were heard what they had newly learned the week before, the rest of the time was spent in hearing of them also to say what they had formerly learned; which was the chief end of his design, that they should learn all, and keep perfectly all they had learned: and many of the children did strive who should learn most weekly, to gain most money, and keep those they had learned most perfectly.

30. It growing now half an hour past ten, the minister of the next parish[1] having read divine service at his own church, then came down with his

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them to be catechisers and to task many poor people with catechistical questions; which when they come and can make answer thereunto, they are rewarded with money and their dinners, and so they pretend they feed the poor's bodies and souls. But their catechism or catechistical questions (some say) are strange ones and far different from our orthodox catechisms."—*Arminian Nunnery* in Hearne's *Langtoft*, cxxxvii. See Lenton in Peckard, 303, 304. Compare Bull's practice (Nelson, sect. 65).

[1] Steeple Gidding. See Lenton in Peckard, 290. The puritan libeller says: "This priest-like pregnant prolocutor answered but slubbringly, That *sometimes a neighbour parson would come and preach in their chapel;* and to the other, That *their calling* (forsooth) *was to serve God, which he took to be best.* Oh the stupid and blind devotion of these people, for men and women, in health of able and active bodies and parts, to have no particular callings, and betake themselves to I wot not what new form of fasting and prayer, and a contemplative idle life, a lip-labour devotion, and a will-worship!"—Hearne's *Langtoft*, cxxx.

parishioners to Little Gidding, where he preached on Sunday mornings. The bell then rung again to go to church. So the whole family, with the psalm-children, met him. Being all in, Nicholas Ferrar went up into the chancel, and at the communion-table with an audible voice there read the second service. Which done, a psalm sung, the minister went up into the pulpit and preached.

31. That done each returned home; and in the same order they went, came back to the house, where they found long narrow trestles, as to be removed from place and room, as the season of the year was: and the children all standing ready, old Mrs. Ferrar with her daughters and others came in, servants brought in the baked pudding and other meat, the old gentlewoman setting the first dish upon the table. Grace said[1], the children orderly and with silence stand to the table, for sit they did not. This done, some were left to see all dispatched in good order (their moneys, that they had earned, given before, at that time when each had said their psalms). Then the bell was rung, and the old gentlewoman's dinner serving in, she and all the family standing in their great dining-room, a hymn was sung by them, the organs playing. Then grace said before any sat down, they went to dinner;

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[1] Peckard says by the minister of the parish. Children often said grace. "At the board and in private it very well becometh children's innocency to pray, and their elders to say, Amen."—Hooker, *E. P.* v. 31, § 2.

word being brought the psalm-children had done, and were gone all home to their own parish-churches in the afternoon, there to be with their parents. Whilst they were thus in feeding their bodies, one whose turn it then was (as every one took his turn at meal-time) of the younger sort read a chapter in the Bible on Sunday meal-times, that so their ears and hearts might not want the best spiritual food: which done, they also sat down to meat, and lost not by that deed.

32. Dinner ended, all had liberty to repair where they pleased, some to walk in the garden, orchard, &c., and some to their closets and privacy. About two o'clock the bell rung, so all came together and went up to Steeple Gidding[1] church to a sermon there, and when come home, they went all into the great chamber, and said all those psalms that day at one time, which they said at the other days of the week at the set hours and time. This done they again departed every one where they pleased. At supper-time, which was commonly in summer about five and winter six, the bell rung, they all came again into the great parlour, and the organ began to play and they to sing all the while the meat was bringing in to be set on the table. Which done, grace was said and all sat down, and a while after one read a chapter, and then another, that had first supped, went to the desk and read

[1] Distant a quarter of a mile.

a story out of the Book of Martyrs[1]. Supper done, grace said, in summer all again went where they pleased, walking abroad, and in winter warmed themselves, if they pleased, a great fire being made in the room to heat it all over, and those that would, had candles and went away: and Nicholas Ferrar, his mother and the elder people found some good discourse or other to pass the time with.

33. When eight o'clock came, the bell rung again to prayers, all went up into the great chamber, and then they sung a hymn on the organs[2] all the time; which ended, they went to prayers. That done, all her children came and asked the old gentlewoman's blessing, and so all bid each good night, and to their several apartments each went, the younger sort to bed, and the elder were in their chamber or closets, till they went to bed; for it was an order, that none must after prayers go up and down, but keep in their chambers.

34. But we ought not to forget here to make known Nicholas Ferrar's special care, that all in the family, high and low, children and servants, should

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[1] Hear our libeller. "For another show that they would not be accounted popish, they have gotten the Book of Martyrs in the chapel; but few or none are suffered to read therein, but only it is there (I say) kept for a show."—u. s. cxxxviii.

[2] In the devastation of Gidding the organs (which were peculiarly obnoxious to the puritans; see Prynne's *Histriom.* 285 seq., Herbert's *Epigr. Apolog.* 23, 24) were broken up as fire-wood, and some sheep from the estate roasted. Peckard.

have no occasion to be absent from church, and as much freedom that day from bodily employment as might be. He so ordered, that what was for dinner should be all performed with the least and speediest loss of time, as might be: that was by causing ovens to be heated, and all the dinner to be set into them before church-time; and so all the servants were ready to go to church, not any left at home. And for supper, church ended in the evening, then the spits were laid down for meat to be roasted at the fire.

35. And one thing else besides will not be amiss to be recounted, concerning the servants. It was the custom of that family, that having a communion the first Sunday of each month throughout the year (besides the great festival times, Christmas, New-Year's day, Easter and Whitsuntide) they stood at lower end of the table where the old gentlewoman sat, and there dined that day[1].

36. Thus much for the Lord's day. Now come we to the employments in the weekdays, from Monday morning to Saturday night. First, for their rising (the bell ringing), it was about four

[1] This too was a crime. "It seems moreover that at their monthly receiving the sacrament (which this defendant soon performeth and consecrateth the bread and wine) their servants, when they received, were attended by their master and mistress, and not suffered to lay or take away their own trenchers, as it is reported."—*Arminian Nunnery*, cxxxvi, which professes to be taken from Lenton's account (Peckard, , where this report is called "a frivolous fable."

o'clock[1], old Mrs. Ferrar herself not failing to rise at five. And having in their chambers given thanks for their night's preservation, with speed making them ready, they one after the other came into the great chamber, and there said to Nicholas Ferrar what psalms and chapters they had learned, and made repetition of formerly gained by heart. This done they retired awhile to their apartments and closets.

37. At six o'clock, the bell tolling, they all came to the great chamber again, and then that company that had the charge to begin that hour's psalm (for each hour of the day had certain psalms to be said). Which said, then one of them said one of the heads of the concordance[2] of the four evangelists without book; for the book contained 150 heads or chapters, and there was so allotted to each hour of the days so many heads to be said, as that beginning still at the first day of each month, and so ending at the last day of the month, all the heads were said over in every month's time, which was twelve times in the year. This book of the concordance of the four evangelists contrivement[3] was directed to be made in

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[1] "For their night-watchings, and their rising at four of the clock in the morning (which I thought was much for one of fourscore years and for children). To the one he said, it was not much; since they always went to bed at seven of the clock in the evening."—Lenton in Peckard, 291. We learn from Walton that Donne also rose at four.

[2] i. e. Harmony; see the account from the Lambeth MS. reprinted at the end of this life.

[3] i. e. The contrivement of this book, &c.

that manner by Nicholas Ferrar's appointment and direction. This said, a hymn of morning prayer was sung by all, the organs playing to it. So then each came to the little table, that stood in the midst of the room, at which stood a great chair (upon which table lay the Holy Bible and a Common-Prayer Book). There each standing at the back of the chair said some one sentence of scripture, such as they thought good at that time, every one having a new sentence to say.

38. This performed, they all went in their order, two by two, to church, as you heard they did on the Sunday. Entering, they bowed the knee[1], and taking every one their places, the womankind in an isle apart, as was more particularly described beforehand. Then Nicholas Ferrar went up into the reading-place and officiated; which done, home they all came in decent order, and all going up to the great chamber, the second company went to the great large compass window at upper end of the room (which window looked upon the church, which stood at the end of the garden), and it being now seven o'clock, there were the psalms said, and another head of the concordance repeated without book, and the short hymn sung (and the organs playing to it) was only:

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[1] "A godly man, not out of superstition, but of reverence to God's house, resolves whenever he enters into a church to kneel down and pray."—*Country Parson*, c. xxxi. Compare c. viii.

Thus angels sung, and so do we,
To God on high all glory be:
Let Him on earth His peace bestow,
And unto men His favour show.

39. Then the young children, the youths with their masters, went down to breakfast, and, that ended, to their school-house, which was near adjoining to the house, having been formerly a fair dove-house. The old gentlewoman set herself down in a chair, and this was her constant place for most part of the time any were there, and some or other of her daughters: her grandchildren were always there. Others, as young or old and such as were too young to go to school, yet sat there, and in great silence, either at their book or otherwise: and the others, some to their needleworks, others to learn what they were to say the next day. And each hour had commonly some employment or other for them; the making the concordance, their singing, their playing on their instruments, their writing, ciphering; and so never idle. And for the variety of employments, Nicholas Ferrar entertained a bookbinder's daughter of Cambridge, to learn of her the skill and art of bookbinding and gilding, and grew very expert at it, as the king, having received books of her binding, said, *he never saw the like workmanship.*

40. Each several hour in forenoon and afternoon made all to be very pleasant and profitable to them: for so that was, until Nicholas Ferrar contrived all things to have a fit proportion in time; for he was wont to say, *a mean in all things, if men*

*could hit it, was the only way with good order to effect great things with ease and delight, as well as to advantage of necessary things in the world, even for this life and a better.*

41. But to proceed. Eight, nine, ten o'clock come, those hours had their several companies, that came and did as at the former hours: psalms said and a head of the concordance, the organs playing, the hymn sung at each hour, as the clock struck, that gave notice to all of the time passing. Besides, in most rooms of the house, they had sun-dials of painted glass, and three dials on the church-steeple, north, south and west, all of them large and fairly painted in colours, with suitable mottoes on them.

42. Ten o'clock striking, the bell rung to church: so up came all into the great chamber, which was always the place of assembling, for all to come unto, before they went to church. So as in the morning, they all went in their orders, and then was only the litany said, every day in the week. (The reason of this unusual reading the litany[1] daily was, that they, coming to Gidding in the great plague time, obtained licence of the bishop that they might use it daily, which he granted).

43. This having ended, they returned all home to the house. Then at eleven o'clock, the bell ringing, the company appointed for that hour said their

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[1] The *Arminian Nunnery* falsely imputes to them the "lip-labour of trolling out the litany four times a day."—cxxxviii.

psalms and head of concordance in the great chamber. The hymn sung &c., they went all to dinner, and while the meat came in to be set on the table, they sung the hymn, with organs playing to it. Grace said, all standing, after some time they all sat down, and one whose turn it was read at dinner and supper-time some part of history, such as was appointed, either some chronicles of nations, journeys by land, sea-voyages, and the like. The reasons and the method of them I shall for the better satisfaction of the historian set down.

44. *Finding silence at meals' time unpleasant and common discourse for the most part unprofitable, it is agreed that there shall be always something read during meal-times*[1]. *And because the mind,*

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[1] "I have stood by his [king James's] table often, when I was about the age of two and twenty years, and from thence forward, and have heard learned pieces read before him at his dinners, which I thought strange; but a chaplain of James Montague, bishop of Winton, told me, that the bishop had read over unto him the four tomes of Cardinal Bellarmine's controversies at those respites, when his majesty took fresh air, and weighed the objections and answers of that subtle author, and sent often to the libraries in Cambridge for books, to examine his quotations."—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i. 227. "At this [Williams's] table a chorister read a chapter in the English translation at dinner, and one of his gentlemen another in the Latin translation at supper. For there was none of them but was bred at least to so much learning."—ibid. ii. 32. "While he [John Ball] was at supper, other scholars read a piece of Greek or Latin (so exceeding diligent was he in husbanding the shreds of time)."—

*then being in most men altogether intent upon the refreshment of their bodies, doth not willingly admit any serious speculation, it is thought fit that the reading shall be always of some easy and delightful matter, such as are history and relations of particular actions and persons, such as may not only furnish the mind with variety of knowledge in all kinds, but also stir up the affections to the embracements of virtue. The performance of this shall be by the two young daughters and four boys, every one in their course, whereby a particular benefit is hoped will arise to the whole, and they shall by these means be brought to read any book well and gracefully. They that are to read shall immediately upon the coming into the dining-room have a mess of broth sent them, which when they have eaten, they shall begin their reading, standing at the north end of the table, and continue so reading, till the rest of the children have supped; when another, after they have repeated their gospels, shall take the book, and the first go to their meal and, in regard of their forbearance, shall always have the advantage of some more than their fellows had. For the better retaining in memory of that which shall be read, it is agreed, that a summary collection shall be kept in writing of those things, which are judged worthy of observation, out of that book. The drawing of this abstract shall*

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Clarke's *Martyrologie* (1651), 444. On the Roman and the monastic practice see Juv. xi. 179, Du Cange s. v. *Lector Mensæ.*

*be the work of one of the parents or masters, but the transcribing it fair may be by any of the children; and every noon, presently after collation, shall be made a repetition of that which was formerly read. The manner of this repetition, whether it shall be by examination of the younger, or by the elders relating it and application of things, is left to the judgement of the directors of those exercises to proceed according as the nature of the subject, time, persons and other occasions shall require. The ordinary and constant charge of this matter is committed to John and Mary Ferrar, and for assistance and supply, when they cannot, Susanna Collett: the mother and the elder daughters are desired always, as occasion serves, to give their help.* Some other orders and directions were given, but this as a taste may suffice. And by this means it so came to pass, that though they seemed to live privately and had not much commerce with people, yet they were well acquainted with the former and latter passages of the world, and what was done in it at home and abroad, and had gained knowledge of many actions of note and passages of consequence and the manners of other countries and nations and affairs of their own country.

45. When dinner and supper were ended, the reader ceased; and then, grace said, one boy, whose turn it was that meal, repeated a story without book, such as Nicholas Ferrar had compiled for them and fitting their capacities. These were short, pleasant and profitable; good language and

no less good in matter, teaching them something of worth, exciting to virtue and the hatred of vice: and by this the young ones learned to speak gracefully and courageously.

46. Now to proceed. The afternoon's employments, as on Mondays, so also on the others of the rest of the weekdays,—the time and hours spent much at one. Dinner ended, these things performed, all departed the room, and each went where they thought good, until one o'clock. Then the bell tolled for the boys to school, and at that hour those that had their turns came up into the great chamber again, to say their psalms and head of concordance, sing a hymn and play on the organ whilst they sung. There old Mrs. Ferrar commonly sat till four o'clock, and, as before, each hour had its performance; some were at one employment and some at another, such as you heard before was their work.

47. Then rung the bell to prayer, which was performed by all, going to church again to divine service, and so home again. And at five the bell rung to supper, which was performed in the great parlour, with reading, &c., as you heard at noon. This done there was liberty given to retire where each would, in summer-time walking abroad, in winter there was a great fire in the room; so some went to one thing, some to another, to learn against next morning, there being many candles in the room in several places; and the three masters had leave to go to their studies, or where they would.

48. Eight o'clock coming, the bell rung to prayers for bed-time; so all came up into the great chamber, where a hymn was sung, the organs playing, and then prayer said by Nicholas Ferrar. The room was well stored with candles. This done, all the children came, and craved on their knees their grandmother's and parents' blessing, then each bidding other good night, every one the sons and daughters waiting on their grandmother to her chamber, so each departed to their several chambers, closets, &c., and as before related, no more going up and down the house, the outward doors locked up. And thus in brief you have a relation of their manners and of their hours' employment and daily exercises all the week long, till Sunday again.

49. Nicholas Ferrar, considering more and more the extraordinary favour and blessings of God to his family, in a most superlative degree and in no less than a miraculous way delivering them out of so many eminent dangers; that it was their part in some measure to shew their more and more than thankfulness to God for them, and that in a more than ordinary or usual way or custom than was practised by most, none having more cause than their family to love and serve God at all times and in all places, in such manner as was pleasing to Him and agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England and to the laws of the land:—hereupon with the advice, consent, and approbation of both religious, grave, learned divines, and amongst the rest upon

the invitation of that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. George Herbert[1], his most entire friend and brother[2] (for so they styled each other):—Nicholas Ferrar, I say, propounded to those of the family, who should of their own free will and choice approve of the thing; for none should be enforced, or the less well thought of, that did only not like of it, or would not be ready to take a part in it. So he found those that did desire to be partners in the action. It was that every night two at least should take their turns, one[3] in the seven nights to watch, and should begin it at nine at night, and so continue till one in the morning. It was to be performed in their several apartments and oratories appointed for the same: the womankind had theirs at one side of the house, the men on the other side, a great way asunder each from the other; and the daughters had for their companion one of their sisters, or sometimes a maidservant, whose desire it was then to watch (for you are to know, that most of the maids could read and say psalms without book). And the men that were actors had one of the boys at the least, if not two, that would also readily desire and strive who should watch, and they could

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[1] "Geo. Herbert, Coll. Trin. Art. Bac. 1612–3—Art. Mag. Coll. Trin. an. 1616. *Regr. Acad.*" BAKER. There is a passing allusion to "Mr. Herbert's public rhetoric lectures in the university" in D'Ewes's *Life*, i. 121.

[2] See below, § 50.

[3] Once? or is it "to watch one night in the seven"?

say all the psalms without book readily. And the organs were so placed, and then tuned so low, as that those that watched might, if they would, at some times sing and play to them, and yet no disturbance to any of the family in the house; but this was not usual every night done, only now and then. Now the matter was this they chiefly insisted on in their watch, and was the length[1] of it: that they two that watched should carefully and distinctly say all David's psalms over in those four hours' time, from nine to one o'clock, they having both a glass and the clocks to let them know how the night passed away. One of the watchers said one verse of the psalm, and the other the other verse interchangeably by way of responsal. They performed it on their knees all the time, except at some spaces of time and intermission which they used, when they in winter went to the fire to warm themselves, when extreme weather was. For in their rooms near them they had fires all night, and were otherwise provided that they took no cold to endanger their health, of which Nicholas Ferrar in all things was most careful. These watchers went not to their naked beds at all, but lay down upon them till six o'clock, and then rose[2]. This was to inure them,

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[1] Seems to mean: "This was their occupation during their watch, and what determined the length of it."

[2] "They have promiscuous private prayers all the night long by nightly turns, just like as the English nuns at Saint Omers and other popish places: which private prayers are

upon any occasion that might happen, that they could do well without going into a bed. Their watch ended, they came and knocked at Nicholas Ferrar's door, bidding him good-morrow, leaving him a candle lighted at his door; who soon rose up and then went into his own study. This was that constant hour he always rose up at, to go to prayer and meditation, when it was not his own turn to watch. His nights of watching were twice a week for some years at the beginning, but afterwards he came to watch three times a week duly; and those that chose to watch with him were young Nicholas Ferrar, his dearly beloved nephew[1], in whom he took great joy, for the blossoms of goodness and ingenuity that he discerned to sprout out daily in him, and another towardly youth, whose name was Ferrar Collett[2]. These two were companions in

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(as it seems) taken out of *John Cozens* his *Cozening Devotions* (as they are rightly discovered to be by orthodox men) and extracted out of divers popish *prayer-books.*"—*Arminian Nunnery*, cxxxviii. seq.

[1] See below.

[2] "Ffarrer Collet Huntingtoniensis admissus est ad secundam scholarium mensam sub tutela Dñi Crashaw, postea Dñi Beaumont. May 16, 1636." Admission book at Peterhouse. B.A. 1639–40, M.A. 1642. (Book at Peterhouse). "Ejected an. 1646. Nov. 6. Mr. Farrer Collett Huntingtoniensis, of the lady Ramsey's foundation."—Baker's MS. IV. 158. "*Farrer Collett. Fellowship.* He was born in the county of *Huntingdon;* was ejected Nov. 9, 1646." Walker's *Sufferings* &c. (speaking of Peterhouse, 153). He proceeded B. D. in 1672. (*Graduati Cant.*)

their studies, but of them he would have only one in the week to watch with him. The other nights he watched single alone; so that he watched twice a week, and the other five nights five other companies did take their turns freely. In the summer-time he with the boys did commonly watch at church, and then at one o'clock laid themselves down upon a bench to sleep, whilst their uncle was at his prayers and meditations, and came not thence till five in the morning. And thus you have his nights' time, how it was spent, through the week.

50. Nicholas Ferrar and Mr. Herbert holding intercourse of letters, though otherwise very seldom[1], as I take it, having but once had personal conference each with other, Mr. Herbert (who ever styled him brother[2] Ferrar), understanding that his

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[1] "They [Herbert and Ferrar] loved each other most entirely, and their very souls cleaved together most intimately, and drove a large stock of Christian intelligence together long before their deaths; yet saw they not each other in many years, I think, scarce ever, but as members of one university, in their whole lives."—Barnabas Oley in Herbert's *Remains*, cviii.

[2] "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him, I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me."—"Sir, I pray deliver this little book [*The Temple*] to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul."—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, lxxvi, lxxvii. See too ibid. lxix, above § 49, and Herbert's *Letter* before *Valdesso*.

prebend of Leighton lay within two[1] miles of Nicholas Ferrar, earnestly entreated him to accept of that prebendship, as most fitted for him, at so near a distance. The one urgeth it with much earnestness, the other as eagerly put all off[2]. At the last he found the way to divert to a much righter end his brother Herbert's good intentions by a proposition he made to him, which was, that,—seeing the fair church of Leighton was fallen down a long time and lay in the dust, the vicar and parish fain to use my lord duke's[3] great hall for their prayers and preaching; and though there had

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[1] About six.

[2] See Oley, cvi, Walton, xxxi seq., Ferrar's *preface* to Herbert's *Temple*.

[3] James 4th duke of Lenox (see Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, by Wood, ii. 102, Granger's *Biogr. Hist.* 1769, i. 2. 353). He was a zealous royalist, and with a few others attended the king's body to the grave. "He was very well skilled in all the points of the religion of the Church of England."—Lloyd's *Memoirs* (1668), 334 (margin). "Doing as much good in encouraging the orthodox by his presence, as in relieving them by his bounty: allowing £500 a year for that purpose, besides that he invited Mr. Thruscrosse, &c. to accept of an honourable salary, to take the freedom of his house, and the advantage of his protection."—ibid. 335. "Sir Jervaise Clifton was created by James I. baron of Leighton; and began to build a beautiful house here, but lived not to finish it. His only daughter and heir married Esme Stewart, duke of Lenox, to whom she bore James duke of Richmond."—Lysons's *Magna Britannia* (1720), i. 1056. He was for some time a student at Cambridge (Wood's Douglas).

been gotten a brief for the repairing of it, the cost estimated to be at the least upon two thousand pounds, and collections yet made (the money being not above..... pounds) could no way help the matter,—N. F. very earnestly hereupon assaults his brother Herbert, to set to the work and to try what he could do amongst his friends towards so good a work, N. F. promising all the assistance he could in that kind; he would undertake his brother John Ferrar should very carefully prosecute the business, if once begun, by three times a week attending the workmen and providing all materials. At last Mr. Herbert set upon it to solicit his friends, and spared not his own purse. So God in the end blessed both their endeavours, that a handsome and uniform and (as the country termed it) a fine neat church was erected, inside and outside finished, not only to the parishioners' own much comfort and joy, but to the admiration of all men, how such a structure should be raised and brought to pass by Mr. Herbert, and performed with..... pounds charge. Only the steeple could not be compassed, which afterwards the most noble, religious, worthy, good duke of Lenox[1] did perform at his own proper cost and charges, to the memorial of his honour.

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[1] Lodowick duke of Richmond and James marquis of Hamilton, "two of his [Herbert's] most obliging and powerful friends," died within a short interval (Walton, xxx), but the duke's loss was the less felt from his nephew's munificence (ib. xxxiii).

51. And Mr. Herbert, seeing he could not draw Gidding nearer him, he would draw nearer to his brother N. F.; and not long before his death was upon exchanging his living for one, merely for the situation, as being nearer his dear brother, though in value much inferior to his own: but he said that *he valued Mr. Ferrar's near neighbourhood more than any living.* And truly there was no loss[1] of affection between them: N. F. prizing him as a most precious friend, and with whom he could live and die, if God saw it so good for both. And as N. F. communicated his heart to him, so he made him the peruser, and desired the approbation, of what he did, as in those three translations of Valdesso, Lessius[2], and Carbo. To the first Mr. Herbert made an epistle, to the second he sent to add that of Cornarius's temperance, and well approved of the last. And when Mr. Herbert died, he recommended only of all his papers that of his divine poems, and willed it to be delivered into the hands of his brother N. F., appointing him to be

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[1] A rare use of the phrase *there's no love lost between them.*

[2] "Upon which design [to adorn our protestant religion by a right renouncing the world &c.] he helped to put out Lessius; and to stir up us ministers to be painful in that excellent labour of the Lord, catechising, feeding the lambs of Christ, he translated a piece of Lud. Carbo, wherein Carbo confesseth, that the heretics (i. e. protestants) had got much advantage by catechising: but the authority at Cambridge suffered not that Egyptian jewel to be published."—Oley's *Life of Herbert*, c. See Appendix.

the midwife to bring that piece into the world, if he so thought good of it, else to burn it. The which when N. F. had many and many a time read over, and embraced and kissed again and again, he said, *He could not sufficiently admire it, as a rich jewel and most worthy to be in the hands and hearts of all true Christians, that feared God and loved the Church of England.* It was licensed at Cambridge, with some kind of scruple by some, if I was not misinformed, only for those his verses upon America, &c.[1] But it did pass, with the epistle that N. F.

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[1] "When Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the vicechancellor [Dr. Laney] would by no means allow the two so much noted verses (*The Church Militant*, near the end),

'Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand,'

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed, and want them; but after some time... the vicechancellor said, 'I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book.'" Walton, lxxviii. Cf. Oley, ci, and Dr. Wordsworth's note on Walton ("considering our English plantations of late, and the opinion of many grave divines concerning the Gospel's fleeting westward, sometimes I have had such thoughts, *Why may not that be the place of New Jerusalem?*" Twisse to Mede. March 2, 1634. Mede's *Works*, 799), also Aubrey's *Lives*, 393. "Whether it [the light of the Gospel] shall go from us to America and the West Indies, God himself knows best."—Thoresby's *Diary*, Sept. 1, 1680. "In Europe, the protestant

made to it[1], and (as I take it) hath passed nine[2] impressions since the first printing of it, as well it hath, and will deserve to do.

52. What is so well compiled by that worthy, learned man (whoever he be[3]) that made the preface to Mr. Herbert's *Country Parson*:—it's but my poor pains to write it out of the book, that can never too often read or meditate upon that discourse, that so nearly concerns me, as of such a brother, whom the world never could shew a better brother to any brother, nor a more true lover, and one that did more for his family than he did in all kinds and ways, for their temporal welfares, in preservation, augmentation, and maintenance of their civil estates and affairs, and, that which is the superlative of all goodness and benefit, his never ceasing care and pains for their spiritual wellbeing, everlasting happiness and bliss.

53. Some three days before his (N. F.) death, lying in his bed, about eight o'clock in the morning, he called his brother John Ferrar, his sister Collett, and all his nieces to him, saying, *Brother, I would*

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religion hath of late years considerably lost ground, and America seems the likeliest place, wherein to make up for what hath been lost in Europe."—Berkeley's *Works* (1843), ii. 288. "Westward the course of empire takes its way.... Time's noblest offspring is the last."—Ibid. 294.

[1] See it in the Appendix.

[2] Six before this life was written (1654). See the *preface* to Pickering's edition, vi. n.

[3] Barnabas Oley.

*have you go to the church, and at the west end at the door, where we go into the church, I would have you measure from the half pace, when we go into the church, of stone that you tread upon seven foot to the westward, and at the end of that seven foot there let my grave be made.* His brother looking very sadly upon him, with his eyes full of tears, (and so all the standers-by did,) he went on saying, *Brother, that first place of the length of seven foot I leave for your own burying-place, you are my elder; God, I hope, will let you there take up your resting-place, till we all rise again in joy. When you have measured out the place for my grave, then go and take out of my study those three great hampers full of books, that have stood there locked up these many years.* (They were not many scores[1], but many hundreds, in all kind of languages, which he had in all places gotten with great search, and some cost: they were comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, and such like). *Carry*, said he, *those hampers to the place of my grave, and upon it see you burn them all:* and this he spake with some vehemency and passion of indignation. *Go, let it be done, let it be done, and then come again all of you to me*[2]. So it was performed, and a great smoke,

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[1] Compare § 54 n.

[2] Barnabas Oley (*Life of Herbert*, xcviii) is mistaken in saying that the books were burnt *after* Ferrar's death. "After his death, when by injunction (which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his death-bed) a great company of comedies,

bonfire, and flame they made; and it being upon a hill, the towns round about and men in the fields came running up to the house, supposing some great fire had happened at Little Gidding. When they saw what was doing, that it was an infinite sort of books burning, and that Mr. Nicholas Ferrar was like to die, as they heard, they went their ways home. And within a few days it was by rumour spread abroad at market-towns all the country over, that *Mr. Nicholas Ferrar lay a dying, but could not die till he had burned all his conjuring-books*[1], *and had made a great fire of them upon the grave he would be buried in.*

54. Now for the second defamation after Nicholas Ferrar's death made of him, having been four years dead, not by words of mouth, nor in

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tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, &c. were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to christian principles and practices (that was his brand), some poor people said he was a conjurer." Compare what is said of Oughtred in Aubrey's *Lives*, 475. On the belief in astrology and magic in this century see king James's *Dæmonologia*, the *Life* and works of Lilly, Grey's notes on *Hudibras*, part ii. canto 3, part iii. canto 1. Even Laud records, "E. B. marryed. The sign in *Pisces*."—*Diary*, May 1, 1624. Two very valuable tracts by Gataker (*Vindications of the annotations by him published* on Jer. x. 2, and *Discourse Apologetical*, both in answer to Lilly), are in Emman. Coll. Libr. 10. 2. 32.

[1] See Wetstein on Acts xix. 19 (especially Aug. *Tract. in Joan.* viii. § 8), and Hofmann's *Lexicon* under *Librorum combustio*.

corners, but in print; not by hundreds, but by thousands[1] of their pamphlets, dispersed through the whole kingdom, being put up to the parliament anno 1641, and given into the hands of parliament men, as they went daily into the house; boasting that they had printed and dispersed above nine thousand copies thereof. The title they gave it was: *The Arminian Nunnery, or a brief Description and Relation of the newly erected Monasticall Place called The Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, Humbly recommended to the wise consideration of this Parl*t. *The Foundation is a Company of Ferrars at Gidding. Printed by Thomas Underhill.* 1641. *London*[2].

55. The whole book is stuffed with abominable falsehoods, and such stories told as the devil himself would be ashamed to utter: and though it was most easily to be confuted, yet it was upon consideration of some wise men, seeing then the stream of the tide, better to bear it with patience and to do as meek Dr. Jackson[3] had done, as knowing

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[1] So in the last paragraph; "not many scores, but many hundreds."

[2] Reprinted by Hearne, *Appendix to his Preface to Peter Langtoft*, cxxv. seq., which reprint I have used, notwithstanding Oldys's insinuation. No one has a right to hint a random charge of inaccuracy against a man like Hearne.

[3] See Prynne's and Burton's charges against Jackson in Wood, ii. 666. "He had an adversary in England who writ a book against him, with a title not so kindly as might have

their own innocency and the then madness of the people, and that the family's innocency and real actions did sufficiently convince this abominable Lye-Bell[1]. Yet it must not be omitted, that by the soldiers then raised, that came out of Essex to pass towards the north, and coming near to Gidding, intelligence was given them at Gidding from good hands, that those books were given to many of them, and that they were hired and animated, some of them, not only to use threats, as they did in their march, but to have offered violence to the family and house. But God Almighty in His special providence did turn away their fury at that time, and it then passed over.

56. But to return. His brother, &c., coming up to his bed-side, told him, *all was done, as he had required.* Then he, suddenly lifting up himself, sat

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been devised. It was this, *A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's follies:* which he bound as an ornament upon him (as Job says), that is, never answered but in the language of the lamb dumb before the shearer, silence and sufferance. And he had one in Scotland who also girded at him:" (Barnabas Oley in Herbert's *Remains*, xcvii). Ferrar recommended Jackson's works to Oley. See the *preface* to Jackson.

[1] "This I may call a libel indeed, according to sir Francis Bacon's description thereof: for first, it is a *lie*, a notorious untruth: and then a *bell*, some loud and lewd tongue hath told, yea rung it out, and perchance was welcome music to some hearers thereof."—Fuller's *Worthies* (8vo ed.), i. 78. "Many a libel (*lie*, because false; *bell*, because loud)."—Ibid. ii. 199.

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"To the Reader.

"Reader, what here thou'lt find, is so good sense,
That, had myself not seen th'experience,
I should subscribe. But I can tell thee where
Full eighty years stand upright, look as clear
As some eighteens: a glass they do not use
To see, or to be seen in; they refuse
Such mediums, because they strictly keep
The golden mean in meat, in drink, in sleep.
They hear well twice; and, when themselves do talk,
Make others do so once: *sans* staff they walk,
Because they rise from table so; they take
But little physick, save what cooks do make;
And part of that is given to the poor.
Blest physick, that does good thrown out of door;
Thou'lt scarce believe, at once to shew thy eyes
So many years, so few infirmities.

I cannot but here add, what testimony her dying beloved husband gave of her (many of his worthy friends and children then about him), entreating his good friends sir Tho. Middleton, sir Hugh Middleton[1] his brother, Mr. Robert Bateman[2] and others, to comfort his dear wife in all they could, and commanding his children with all filial duties and reverence to love and obey her, saying: *I must give my wife this testimonial, that never, I think, man had the like in all kinds; and these forty-five years we have lived together, I must say of her, she never gave me cause to be angry with her; so wise and good she is. You all know I was by nature (which God pardon) both quick, and choleric, and hasty, which she also will forgive.*

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corners, but in print; not by hundreds, but by thousands[1] of their pamphlets, dispersed through the whole kingdom, being put up to the parliament anno 1641, and given into the hands of parliament men, as they went daily into the house; boasting that they had printed and dispersed above nine thousand copies thereof. The title they gave it was: *The Arminian Nunnery, or a brief Description and Relation of the newly erected Monasticall Place called The Arminian Nunnery at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, Humbly recommended to the wise consideration of this Parl*t. *The Foundation is a Company of Ferrars at Gidding. Printed by Thomas Underhill.* 1641. *London*[2].

55. The whole book is stuffed with abominable falsehoods, and such stories told as the devil himself would be ashamed to utter: and though it was most easily to be confuted, yet it was upon consideration of some wise men, seeing then the stream of the tide, better to bear it with patience and to do as meek Dr. Jackson[3] had done, as knowing

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[1] So in the last paragraph; "not many scores, but many hundreds."

[2] Reprinted by Hearne, *Appendix to his Preface to Peter Langtoft*, cxxv. seq., which reprint I have used, notwithstanding Oldys's insinuation. No one has a right to hint a random charge of inaccuracy against a man like Hearne.

[3] See Prynne's and Burton's charges against Jackson in Wood, ii. 666. "He had an adversary in England who writ a book against him, with a title not so kindly as might have

their own innocency and the then madness of the people, and that the family's innocency and real actions did sufficiently convince this abominable Lye-Bell[1]. Yet it must not be omitted, that by the soldiers then raised, that came out of Essex to pass towards the north, and coming near to Gidding, intelligence was given them at Gidding from good hands, that those books were given to many of them, and that they were hired and animated, some of them, not only to use threats, as they did in their march, but to have offered violence to the family and house. But God Almighty in His special providence did turn away their fury at that time, and it then passed over.

56. But to return. His brother, &c., coming up to his bed-side, told him, *all was done, as he had required.* Then he, suddenly lifting up himself, sat

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merchant of good reputation in the city, and, as they term it, an alderman's fellow or companion; a merchant-adventurer, trading to the east and west Indies, Spain, Flanders, Germany, &c.; who kept (as they term it) a good free table, and constantly wanted[1] not only company of his own rank, but often had men of eminency to dine with him, yea lords, knights, ladies, &c.; and sir John Hawkins, sir Francis Drake, sir Walter Raleigh, all gallant seamen, with whom he was an adventurer, evermore affecting the planting of Christian religion[2] in the new world, and advancing trade and commerce for a common good, as well as his own lawful trading. Of whose life very much may be said in its due place. A zealous lover of the church he was, and ever as ready to supply king and state with what was required of him. £300 upon a privy seal he willingly lent, and queen Elizabeth writ him esquire. I shall conclude with the last and true character of old Mr. Ferrar, which that grave, learned bishop Francis White[3], who was exceeding familiar with

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[1] *Entertained* seems to be the word required.

[2] See above, p. 13, note.

[3] "The parish-church and chancel of St. Bennett Sherehog in London Mr. Ferrar repaired and decently seated at his own expense: and as there was not any morning preacher there he brought from the country Mr. Francis White."—Peckard, 10. He was dean and afterwards (Dec. 3, 1626) bishop of Carlisle, next (Feb. 9, 1628–9) of Norwich, and lastly (Dec. 8, 1631) of Ely. He died in Feb. 1637–8. (Richardson's *Godwin*.) Kennet has left a notice of him (MS. Lansd. 984. art. 131);

old Mr. Ferrar, he being the chief means of bringing him out of the country to London, and there in his parish was a lecturer, to whom he liberally contributed, to keep us that happiness the parish had of him: and often in the week he was pleased to afford Mr. Ferrar his good company, who wonderfully joyed in it. He preached his funeral sermon (whereat were many hundreds of persons), whose text was: *Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season.* Job v. 26. And I shall only, amongst many other due commendations that he gave him, out of his own knowledge, as well as out of others' true relations, here in this place declare that he told his auditors, *that he never came into old Mr. Ferrar's company, but that saying of our Saviour Christ came into his mind, when He saw Nathanael coming unto Him: Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile*[1]. *For*, said he, *truly Mr. Ferrar was such a man, and all that knew him must*

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see also Fuller's *Worthies* in *Hunts*, Bentham's *Ely*, (1812), i. 200, ii. 109, Baker's MS. xxx. 170. When rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and divinity reader at St Paul's, he wrote his answer to Fisher (Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 95, 115, seq.), was king's chaplain (ib. 116, 120), disputed against Preston at York house (ib. 140, 213; cf. Fuller, ed. Brewer, vi. 33), was abused by Burton (Heyl. 311), wrote on the sabbath (ib. 279), a subject on which his opinions were influenced by a conference with Brabourne, (Brabourne's *Reply to Mr. Collings's Provocator provocatus* [in Emm. Libr. x. 5. 65], 64, 65).

[1] John i. 47.

*needs acknowledge him so to be.* Thus he proceeded forward in declaring many good things of him.

62. N. F.'s posture in his study was either walking or standing at a desk, to write or read at, seldom sitting at study or writing, and some things that he writ were upon a low desk, he all the time kneeling upon his knees.

63. The bishop of Lincoln[1] being their diocesan, and having for many years known N. F. and his brother in the public affairs of Virginia plantation, N. F. at his first coming to Gidding had gained the bishop's license to have the litany read every day in their church, which was then a time of plague, and he afterwards continued his license to them, while he was their diocesan. Four several times he came to Little Gidding, and at one time he preached there, and confirmed all of the family that had not been confirmed before, and many gentlemen that came that day thither, and some hundreds of other people from neighbour towns about. There he dined and many ministers also were there. The Peterborough singing-men and their music was not wanting in the church[2]. The bishop's text was.....He viewed the house, and understood long before of all their orders and manner of life, and fully approved all things, as

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[1] Williams.

[2] On the bishop's love of music see Hacket, ii. 30, seq. It was in the spring of 1634 (Peckard, 181), that Dr. Towers, dean of Peterborough, sent his choristers to Gidding.

then many of quality, gentry and clergy, heard from his own mouth, and much magnified what N. F. and his mother had done, which he gave all the furtherance he could unto, and said, *It was the joy of his heart to live to see such an act done, in honour of God and the Church of England. Many had taken from it, and the coal from the altar had consumed many of their inheritances; yet the rest feared not. But,* said he, *to restore, as is now done*[1], *the glebe-land to the church of their own accord, request, and seeking, which was no less, than to give so much to it!* (For in truth it was so, for it was many years ago passed away, by consent of the parties that could do it, and a composition of £20 agreed for ever to be paid the parson, in lieu of glebe and tithes, &c.) *But with much ado,* said he, *they found out that so many acres had been glebe in that parish in former times, but when that old lord of it, about* 100 *years ago, inclosed all that lordship, this was no more to be found, all laid into pasture, as at this day it remains. But,* said he, *they have, by a decree in chancery*[2], *allotted and laid out in their lordship as many acres in convenient places. Here's,* said he, *an example for all the gentry of England.* So after much approbation and commendation of all things, he at his departure gave them all again his solemn benediction, and as he was ready to get on

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[1] See the Appendix.

[2] "Under lord Coventry."—Peckard, 181.

horseback, he embraced[1], before all the many hundreds of people there, Nicholas Ferrar, saying in the conclusion these words: *Deus tibi animum istum, et animo isti tempus longissimum concedat.* God keep you in that mind, and grant that mind of yours a long continuance here on earth.

64. Another time pleasing to honour the family with his presence, after much discourse it seemed good to him to enter into the pleasantness of telling stories, as upon talking of things past and present, as occasion was given, and he would have N. F. to parallel them with some of the like nature, and so the time passed away to the great delight of the present company, and therein the bishop shewed his dexterity[2]. So home he went. In some few

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[1] On another occasion "meeting in the archdeaconry of Buckingham with one doctor Brett, a very grave and reverend man, . . . he [Williams] embraced him in his episcopal arms with these words of St. Augustine, viz. *Quamvis episcopus major est presbytero, Augustinus tamen minor est Hieronymo.*"—Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 270, 271.

[2] "After that [*reading*], discourse took up the time; which was the bishop's delight and the hearer's profit. . . . . When he had the society of them, that were of good reading, and strong notions, he would propose, and hear, and reply, and canvass a question with that reason, and instances of antiquity, yet with such a gust of hilarity, that he contented all with his judgement, and endeared them to him with his civility. . . . . And because his breasts were full, and had need to be drawn: the choicest and most able of both universities came thick unto him. . . . . Such company was often about the

days after a Cambridge scholar, fellow of a college, came and dined with the bishop at Bugden[1]; and he asking him, *Whither he was travelling that night?* answered, *To Little Gidding to see Mr. N. F. Now,* said he, before all the company at his table, *I was lately with him, and, I must confess, I thought myself pretty good at storying, but never met with my match till then, and let me say troth, he matched me. But commend me to him, and tell him, the next time I come we will have another game at storying.* And so he fell into a long and high commendation of N. F., and repeated many passages that had happened in the Virginia business, and at council-table, *in which,* he said, *he had gained at that board very great esteem. But,* he said, *that he had left secular affairs and was a churchman. But,* said he, *I perceive we shall never be able to get him into a pulpit: I find he will live and die a...*[2]

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bishop, as made Bugden look like an academy, and the cheer like a commencement. . . . . From *Cambridge,* that being so near, and he so hospital, he was daily visited."—Hacket, ii. 32. "Which refreshed my memory to tell them what my lord bishop of Lincoln said of them. Wherein yet I brake no laws of humanity or hospitality (though spoken at his table). For he said nothing but what they wished and were glad to hear; being but the relation of the grave and discreet answers (as my lord himself termed them) of the old gentlewoman to some of his lordship's expostulations,"—Lenton ap. Peckard, 295.

[1] Buckden, on the Ouse, near Huntingdon, where is the palace of the bishops of Lincoln. See Hacket, ii. 29.

[2] Supply *deacon.*

65. He was also pleased to come to Gidding after N. F.'s death, as he passed by in his last visitation, and spared not in all companies, when he heard anything spoken by ignorant persons, that knew not Gidding but by false reports[1], that would seem to dislike many things upon their hear-says, &c.,—he would vindicate Gidding and blame them for slanders, saying, *They were of his flock, who knew that they did practise nothing but what was according to the law of the Church of England, and that they were right, true, and good protestants, and lived unblameable, and there was no man living, that knew the family, but must acknowledge it. I wish there were many more such in the church and kingdom.* It is true, at his last being there, he seeing the table[2] hung up in the parlour, which before he had seen there (N. F. being now dead), said to J. F. in his ear, *I shall counsel you now to take this down, and let it not hang in this public*

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[1] "As for Mr. Ferrar, he was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to do, could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing (not resenting) his own sufferings in this kind, *that to fry a faggot was not more martyrdom than continual obloquy.* He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under millstone of contrary reports; that he was a papist, and that he was a puritan. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Esay, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanized, as other saints of God were?"—Barnabas Oley, *Life of Herbert*, xcvii. seq.

[2] See it in the Appendix.

*room any longer.* This was in anno 1641. *Not,* said he, *that I dislike it, but approve of it. The times, I fear me, as you see, grow high and turbulent, and great may be the folly and madness of the people.* (For he was then come from Boston[1] in Lincolnshire, *where it was,* said he, *I was used but coarsely*). *It will be good for you, according to the rule of prudence* (*seeing whither the stream is turning*) *to take this away at this time, and from this place. I counsel as your friend only.* And so with great affection to the family, and signifying what a loss, not only they had of such a guide, but the church of such a man as, he said, N. F. was;—and so, with giving to all his benediction, he departed. And his advice was taken, and the old gentlewoman's table taken down out of the common parlour, whereinto indeed, not very long after, came men of another garb than the bishop, and of other minds[2].

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[1] "A great nursery of inconformity."—Laud's *Troubles and Tryal,* 531. "This labour our bishop undertook personally [Oct. 1641], to heal the maladies of brainsick distempers at Boston, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Hitchin, the last visitation that was held in either province to this day."—Hacket, ii. 164.

[2] "Here let the daughters of Gidding stay: and so they did. But nor they nor the rest staid many years after, in that godly repose. . . . It was out of season to confine themselves to holy rest, when civil dissensions began to flame, and there was no rest in the land. . . . Religion and loyalty were such eye-sores, that all the Ferrars fled away, and dispersed, *and*

66. Let me add that some years before Dr. Hill, then parson of Tichmarsh[1], some four miles off, came in a coach with four horses, and another minister with him of a neighbour parish, whom he had taken up to come with him. For the lady that owned the coach, being come with him to that near town, would not then approach to Gidding, till Mr. Hill had first been there. He came with much civility, and having seen the church, which was then in its best array, and the house, and demanded

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*took joyfully the despoiling of their goods*, Heb. x. 34. All that they had restored to the church, all that they had bestowed upon sacred comeliness, all that they had gathered for their own livelihood, and for alms, was seized upon as a lawful prey, taken from superstitious persons."—Hacket, ii. 53.

[1] Thomas Hill compounded for the first-fruits of Tichmersh, 24 Jul. 1633 (Bridges's *Northamptonshire*, ii. 386), master of Trinity from 1645–1653, vicechancellor 1645 and 1646. There is a life of him in Clarke's *Lives* (1677), 230 seq., where he is said to have been master of Emmanuel before he was removed to Trinity, but his name does not appear as such in the *Grad. Cantabr.* nor in any of the college memorials (Bennet's *Emman. Coll. Reg.* MS. in the Coll. Library, i. 169), but he styles himself, says Bennet, *late master* in the title-page of one of his books. There are notices of him in the *Life of Angier* (1685), 9, Salter's *Pref. to Whichcote's and Tuckney's Eight Letters*, xxviii—xxxi, Lansd. MS. 985, art. 69, (his will) in Baker's MS. xxvi. 214, 215, *Commons' Journals*, v. 423, 430, *Lords' Journals*, ix. 660 b, 663 b, 664 b, x. 129 b, (all these entries relate to his appointment as master of Trinity), x. 160 b, (his petition about a revision of the statutes; other entries in the *Commons' Journals* relate to his sermons before the house), Wood's *Fasti*, i. 408, 409.

many questions and received satisfactory answers, as himself acknowledged, in all his demands, and asking the minister that came with him, one that knew Gidding full well, *where were such and such things that he had been confidently told of and afterwards, upon a truth*[1], *to be so, but now he saw no such thing, nor sign of them?* The minister made him answer, *that there was never such things seen by any in Gidding church or house, but no other than his own eyes beheld at present. What,* said he, *can this be so as you say? Yea,* replied he, *it's most true, as I tell you.* At which he awhile stood amazed, and turning to J. F. (for N. F. was dead), *Sir,* said he, *I must confess I have heard very strange reports, and so confidently avouched for truth, that I gave, I see now, too much credit, and more than I ought to have done. But from this day forward it shall teach me this lesson, not to give credit in the like kind while I live. I must needs say, not anything, but what may be well allowed, in your church: nor, by the answers you have made me to my questions, anything you do or practise, but is unblameable, though not so usual now-a-days, which, I see, makes all this noise and rumour abroad*[2]*; and where I*

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[1] Seems to mean, "Which he had heard asserted, and afterwards solemnly affirmed."

[2] "We must not forget the house and chapel in Little Gidding (the inheritance of master Ferrar), which lately made a great noise all over England. [In the beginning of the long parliament. *Fuller's note*]. Here three numerous female

*come, I shall do you right.* And so excusing his boldness, being a stranger to us, he, with much seeming satisfaction, departed to the town again, where he left the lady. And I heard afterwards, he would say, that *the family of Gidding were much wronged by scandalous reports.* But these kinds of visits were ordinary at Gidding, not from hundreds, but thousands, it may be said: yet it was never known that any man or woman came there, that did not seem, before they went away, fully and clearly satisfied.

67. One day there was a worthy gentleman, that dwelt not far from Gidding, and very often came to visit N. F., and greatly delighted in his company and discourse (this was a wise and learned gentleman), was at dinner at an earl's[1] house, not far

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families (all from one grandmother) lived together in a strict discipline of devotion. They rose at midnight to prayers; and other people most complained thereof, whose heads, I dare say, never ached for want of sleep. Sure I am, strangers by them were entertained, poor people were relieved, their children instructed to read, whilst their own needles were employed in learned and pious work, to bind Bibles; whereof one most exactly done was presented to king Charles. But their society was beheld by some as an embryo nunnery, suspecting that there was a pope Joan therein; which causeless cavil afterwards confuted itself, when all the younger of those virgins practised the precept of St. Paul, to marry, bear children, and guide their houses."—*Worthies in Huntingdonshire.*

[1] Either the earl of Manchester's at Kimbolton, or the earl of Westmoreland's at Apethorp.

from Gidding, where was store of great company. In the end they fell upon discourse of Gidding. Every man being ignorant of the place (for they were never there), began to report one to the other what they had credibly heard of Gidding, and spake very boldly all untruths, as if they had known all to be as they said. Yet this gentleman sat and heard all, for so he was resolved to do; the lord thinking, because he held his tongue, all to be true: till one bolder than the rest did affirm, *that they were so superstitious, that they had twelve several crosses*[1] *in their chancel-window, to his knowledge, to which they bowed when they entered the church, and that his eyes had seen them, within so many days ago.* This set them all afire. When the gentleman heard this, he could no longer forbear, and beginning to speak, the lord said, *Let us, I pray you, hear what Mr.* —— (and so called him by his name) *can say. For,* said he, *I now remember, that he once long ago told me that he used to go thither. I pray, Sir,* said the lord, *let us now have upon your knowledge. My lord,* said he, *there is little*

[1] Lenton too had heard of the crosses. On this subject see Morton's *Defence of the innocencie of the three ceremonies*, &c., part ii. ch. 2, (*Of the sign of the cross in baptism*), Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*, 204 seq., Dowsing's *Journal*. "Cur tanta sufflas proba in innocuam crucem? Non plus maligni dæmones Christi cruce Unquam fugari, quam tui socii solent." Herbert, *Epigr. Apolog.* x. 1—3. Dr. Cornelius Burgess was the barbarian who overthrew Paul's Cross, (Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 202). Cf. Grey on *Hudibras*, iii. 2. 314.

*credit to be given to reports in this kind, from hear-says: as I have well observed, all that this gentleman has spoken is because he knows no better and takes all upon trust, hand over head*[1]. *Your lordship shall first give me leave only to ask that gentleman that spake last, and upon his knowledge (as he saith), of twelve crosses in the chancel-window, to which they bow at entering into the church. Sir, I pray you, when were you there?* He boldly replied, *So many days ago, and such a day, the doors being open, I went into the church, but then they were not there. My lord,* replied the other gentleman, *this is a strange story, I myself was but the day before in the church with them at prayers, and three days after I was there again, as I passed by, and as then, nor ever before, did I see any such thing as one cross in the chancel-window;—much more twelve to be there was strange, and I not see them. I dare pawn my life this gentleman is mistaken; and give me leave, now we are upon this point, that I tell your lordship as a truth, that I was there about a year ago, the same time that Dr. M.*[2] *came there to visit that and*

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1 "*Hand over head.* Tumultuario, fortuito."—Coles. Cf. Johnson. Add from Gataker's *Answer to Walker*, (Lond. 4to. 1642), 86: "To admit hand over head whatsoever he or they shall hold and maintaine." Again, from his *God's eye on his Israel*, 29: "Who *draw up* whatsoever commeth to hand, *with the hooke*, and *sweep all* away hand over head *with their net*." The phrase is not yet obsolete.

2 "*Morison*, in marg."—BAKER. He was chancellor to bishop Williams (Heylin, *Cypr. Angl.* 163; cf. Hacket, ii.

*other churches, as was his office once a year to do. He and I and Mr. N. F. went into the church. The doctor wonderfully liked it, as well he might for the comeliness of all things in it and about it, only said to Mr. N. F., that there wanted one thing, that would do well in the chancel-window. "What, doctor," said he, "is that?" "Painted glass and in it a crucifix." I heard Mr. N. F. reply "that if there had been any when they came, he would not have pulled it down except authority had commanded: so neither would he set up anything without command of authority."* When the gentleman had thus said, all began to look one upon the other, and upon him that affirmed twelve crosses to be in the chancel-window, and said: *What say you now, Sir, to this? I say,* said he, *it is true, what I told you, but this gentleman, it may be, thinks that iron crosses in church windows are no crosses. How do you mean that?* said the other. *Thus then you cannot deny but I have spoken a truth. There are three windows in the chancel, or the one window is divided into three parts. That is so,* said the other. *And will you not confess that there are three great iron bars go upright, and four shorter bars go cross each of those windows? So shall they make four crosses in each window, and that twelve in all, be it of iron, wood, stone, paint. That you cannot deny: so I told no untruth you see, though you did not see nor*

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112, Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* vi. 128, ed. Brewer). In 1634 Dr. Farmery was chancellor (Hacket, 123).

*observe them. Well,* said the other gentleman, *if those be your twelve crosses, then all the other windows in the church have three times twelve crosses, and all my lord's windows here have crosses.* Then all the company fell a laughing, and said *the thing was a riddle, true and not true. But,* said the lord, *you that know Gidding so well, tell us, that we may be truly satisfied what your opinions are of that family, what are they for their religion? else we hear that they are charitable, and live well and peaceably. My lord, if you will needs have my opinion of them, I must say that they are orthodox, regular, puritan protestants. Come then,* said the lord, *let us let them alone, and fall to some other discourse.* This gentleman not long after came to Gidding and told what had happened. This is only by the by, to let be known, how impudent and foolish malice is in some men, and the historian may take notice, if he please, in the passage of Dr. Morison's proposition and the answer of N. F. to it.

68. N. F. with some divines talking about the mass, and he expressing more than ordinary dislike of it, one of them said to him: *Sir, suppose it should so happen that against your will mass should be said in your house, what would you do, seeing you have intimated dislike of the place, where such thing should be used?* His answer was by a known story of the king of Spain's sending to one of his nobility, to borrow his house to lodge the duke of Bourbon: which that peer granted, but solemnly declared *he would burn his house, as soon as that traitor was*

*gone out of it*, &c.[1] *What mean you, Sir, by this?* said one. *Do you account the mass so great a traitor, and would you burn your house if it were said there? I say not so*, said N. F.; *I have not a purse to build up another. But I tell you, seeing you put me to it, I would pull down the room and build it up again*[2].

69. From this they fell to temperance in diet, and desired his opinion of it: and desiring to have it of him in writing, I find they had it in this manner. *Temperance in diet is to eat only to necessity of nature and conveniency of employment, so as we may the better perform that which God calls us to the performance of: and he that eats to and for pleasure doth not exercise an act of temperance, but of human frailty. And he that voluntarily eats so, as thereby to become disabled for that which God requires of him, is intemperate.*

70. And upon another time, some friends intimating to him their fears that the strictness of his life, of diet, and his fastings, watchings, &c., might impair his health and shorten his life, he made

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[1] The reply of the *Marquis de Villena* to Charles V., is reported by Guicciardini, lib. xvi. (viii. 242, Lond. 8vo. 1822).

[2] He declared to Lenton "with a protestation *That he did verily believe the pope to be antichrist as any article of his* [illegible]. 'Wherewith,' says Lenton quaintly, 'I was satisfied and silenced'."—Peckard, 289. Not so the libeller: "therein he spake from his heart, he much differed from the opinions of priest Shelford, priest Squire, Dr. Draffig, the red dragon and Arminians."—Hearne's *Langtoft*, cxxix.

answer to this effect: that *he knew that whosoever, upon what pretence soever, did by these means infringe their healths, did sore amiss and sin; for that it is found by daily experience that sickly, infirm, and weak healths make men subject to many ill passions and distempers, and the pains of the body disquiet the mind not a little, and make us not so apt and fit, neither to perform our duties to God in that station He hath appointed us, nor to execute our duty to our neighbour.*

71. Many arguments N. F. used, fully to satisfy his friends in those his actions, in spareness of diet, fasting, watching, and that he that did abridge his health and life, by these means or otherwise, was a kind of *felo de se*, and so would be found in God's books at the last. And this here in this place may be upon this occasion declared, that, as he told his mother, *she and others should see and find, that he should be more healthful by that course he held than he was in the former part of his life, and be able to perform more of his duty to God and that family.* And it is known to all, that he never had so much health together and ability of bodily strength and mind, as in the last seven years of his life, when he was, as they thought, most strictest in these things,—for eighteen hours of the twenty-four of the day and night he spent in some employments or other of both pains and care; for he reserved usually but six hours for his sleep, diet, and the like needful actions in those kinds;—that he grew seldom to sit by the fire but when on

some occasions, to satisfy others, he was invited;—that he after his mother's death (though before, to satisfy her mind, he went to bed or lay down upon a bed some four hours) did only lie upon a board[1] with a white bear's skin under him, and wrapping himself in a great shag black frieze gown, and from nine to one (as you heard before): at which hour of one he rose up to prayer and meditation. These things I only here touch as a proof that he found no impairing of health or strength in the last seven years of his age, and the most strictness of his life, as some term it[2].

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[1] Lessius thus briefly sums up the chief exercises of mortification: "Ex quibus perspicuum est, in sobrietate et abstinentia ad libidinem domandam longe majorem esse vim, quam in aliis corporis afflictationibus, ciliciis, disciplinis, chameunia, labore manuum."—*Hygiast.* § 60. Comp. Ducange, s. vv.

[2] "Follows an account of one Mr. W. a kinsman of N. F. and trading man in the city, who was desirous to take upon him the ministry, but was dissuaded by N. F. and afterwards by Mr. Herbert, yet would needs make a trial, but after some trial, finding himself well advised, returned to his trade. It is entertaining and instructive enough, but very long."—BAKER. Mr. W. is probably Arthur Woodnoth, goldsmith of Foster lane, London, the executor of Herbert, who "besides his own bounty collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church, [Leighton]; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid."—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, xxxiv. Many of Mrs. Collett's letters are directed to her cousin Arthur, who seems often to have visited Gidding, and to have been regarded as a brother by the family.

72. And let me here add some few lines in one of Mr. Herbert's letters to N. F., thus:

MY EXCEEDING DEAR BROTHER,

Although you have a much better paymaster than myself, even Him, Whom we both serve: yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton[1] upon my account and give you myself for it, to be yours for ever. God knows, I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it[2]. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired, for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth, no, not though the advice step so far as to be reproof[3]: much less

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[1] "Besides his parsonage [Bemerton], he had also a prebend in the church of Lincoln; which (I think because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of, that place) he would fain have resigned to Master Ferrar, and often earnestly sued to him to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity (as I take it) to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps [i.e. revenue. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 143] of the prebend lay."—Barnabas Oley (*Life of Herbert*, cvi). Herbert's patron was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, (Hacket, ii. 42).

[2] See Ferrar's *preface* to Herbert's *Temple*.

[3] "There is one thing which I admire above all the rest: the right management of the fraternal duty of reproof is

can I disesteem it from you, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering you any other ways, as neither I myself desire to be considered. Particularly, I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. [*So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church, in such and such a form, as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had, and would do, to get moneys to proceed in it; and concludes thus.*] You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton church the care be amongst the chiefest also: so also have I requested Mr. W.[1] for his part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all, in your several ways, one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript.

As I had written thus much, I received a letter from my brother, sir Henry H.[2], of the

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methinks one of the most difficult offices of christian prudence. . . . This author had not only got the courage to do this, but the art of doing this aright. There was not a man in his way, be he of what rank he would, but he wiped his mouth with a modest, grave, and christian reproof."—Oley, cvi, cvii.

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blessed success that God had given us, by moving the duchess's[1] heart to an exceeding cheerfulness, in signing £100 with her own hands, and promising to get her son to do as much, with some little apology that she had done nothing in it (as my brother writes) hitherto. She referred it also to my brother to name at first, what the sum should be: but he told her grace, that he would by no means do so, urging that charity must be free. She liked our book well, and has given order to the tenants at Leighton to make payment of it. God Almighty prosper the work. Amen.

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"DEAR BRO.

I was glad of your Cambridge news, but you joyed me exceedingly with your relation of my lady duchess's forwardness in our church building. I am glad I used you in it, and you have no cause to be sorry, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rub, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To shew a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony of a good spirit. The Lord bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

*March.* 21, *Bemerton.*

To my dear brother, Sir Henry

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73. In another to N. F. he thus begins:

MY DEAR BROTHER.

I thank you heartily for Leighton, your care, your counsel, your cost. And as I am glad for the thing, so no less glad for the heart that God has given you and yours to pious works. Blessed be my God and dear Master, the spring and fountain of all goodness. As for my assistance, doubt not, through God's blessing, but it shall be to the full: and for my power, I have sent my letters to your brother, investing him in all that I have. [*And so he goes on in his advice for the ordering of things to that business.*]

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"O most mighty God, and merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, if it be Thy good pleasure, to continue to us that singular benefit which Thou hast given us in the friendship of Thy servant, our dear brother, who now lieth on the bed of sickness. Let him abide with us yet awhile, for the furtherance of our faith. We have indeed deserved by our ingratitude, not only the loss of him, but whatever other opportunities Thou hast given us for the attainment of our salvation. We do not deserve to be heard in our supplications; but Thy mercies are above all Thy works. In consideration whereof we prostrate ourselves in all humble earnestness, beseeching Thee, if so it may seem good to Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt hear us in this, Who hast heard us in all the rest, and that Thou wilt bring him back again from the gates of death: that Thou wilt yet awhile spare him, that he may live to Thy honour, and our comfort. Lord, Thou hast willed that our delights should be in the saints on earth, and in such as excel in virtue: how then should we not be afflicted, and mourn when Thou takest them away from us! Thou hast made him a great help, and furtherance of the best things

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75. But to proceed with N. F.'s life and actions. He always gave command, then, whenever he were at study, if any stranger or other did come and desire to speak with him, he might know it, for he would say, that *it might in one kind or other be hoped that they came for his good or their own, and it was the thing he loved to make himself or others better.* He would observe something from them, or out of them, to be of benefit to himself, to confirm in what was good, or to hate vice more and more; and he would endeavour to do them all the good he could, by words or example, and seldom or never any parted with him but received satisfaction.

76. He had great skill in physiognomy; he ever had a special regard of all men's actions and dispositions, their tempers and affections. Insomuch that many of his friends and acquaintance that were intimate with him, would say of him, that *he did know their tempers and their selves, inside and outside, much better than themselves did:* and it hath been proved, that if he did but converse some few days with men and that they did not know his

intent, by what he heard from them and by such kind of discourse that he would put to them, he would tell, how those men were inclined, what ways and means would soon please or displease them, how they were to be dealt with in persuading or dissuading to this or that, and in brief, how most men were to be ruled and overcome and mastered by their counsellor or friends. And he so won the affections of most that he conversed with, as it was strange to all that knew him, how he could deal with all sorts of people for their good, and, as some merry friends would say, *make himself master of them.* He had this very art from his younger years, insomuch as it is well known, that when some differences have been in the college amongst the fellows many times in some college affairs, he then but a young fellow, yet so won upon each side that he could draw them off many times from their resolutions, to leave their passions and hearken to reason, and what was as it ought to be; and that in such a winning way and sweet way, in knowing all their tempers of mind and applying his arguments properly to them, that oftentimes in a little calm, some of the fellows having found that such and such had receded from their determinations and changed their minds, they would say in their passions, *This young boy Nick Ferrar can do more with his tutor Linsell and others than all we can; such an insinuating subtle boy he is.* And his tutor would laugh heartily at his friends, and tell them: *If Nick took them to task, he would alter them also.*

But, for all these things, yet he never lost their love nor friendship one inch, but, having better considered of it, would merrily put it over and pass it off. He would never for love or fear, in a right matter and just thing, step one jot out of the way, to give way to a wrong business. His tutor Linsell would often say of him to the rest of the fellows, *God keep Nick in a right mind and way; for if he should turn schismatic or heretic he would make work for all the world; such a head, such a heart, such prevalent arguments he hath, and such a ready tongue and pen, such a memory, with that indefatigable pains* (*for*, said he, *I think he is made up of industry*), *that I know not, who will be able to grapple with him.* And what respect his tutor (who was since bishop of Peterborough and Hereford) carried towards him to his day of death, all men know. Who would profess solemnly, in all companies where he came, that *N. F. was both a better scholar and abler divine, than he himself was;* that *since he came from travel, he never came from N. F.'s company but, before they parted, he learned some new, profitable, good thing, that he never before knew of;* and would constantly affirm that, *of all men he knew, he would have him to be his confessor, and then he should be a happy man in such a thing.* It is true, he loved and honoured his tutor exceedingly, and bore great reverence to him; yet it was well known, that he never heard his tutor say or do amiss at any time, but he would, before they parted, in some sweet good way let him know his mind,

*whom I see thou wilt never leave to do good their spiritual and temporal happiness and*

Dr. Francis White and Dr. Aug. Linsell one day talking of N. F. (the same doc- was lecturer at N. F.'s father's parish- said of N. F. that *whereas you and I and lors are, as I may say, like good tailors, the measure of a man, if he come to us and cloth, and shall fit him well and cut it out But N. F. I may compare to one of those Jane tailors*[2], *that, go but into their shops, without delay find you a fitting suit of ready-made, for cloth and colour and trim- you would have it, and to sit neatly on he will never let you go, till you are con- all kinds and fitted to your mind; for he variety of choice apparel, as will please all to him at an instant.*

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day was the third.

which was commonly in way of story[1]. And he would beg of his tutor and friends to tell him also in what he did amiss at any time. His tutor, when he saw him, towards the last seven years of his life, betake himself to so temperate a diet and sparing, to that fasting and watching, would pleasantly say to him: *Nick, whither will you go? What example will you give us?* He would pleasantly reply: *Nay, tutor, you are to answer to God for this. Why did you commend unto me, and made me (being so young at college, as I was) to read the lives of all the holy men of old time, and saints of God, the good fathers of the Church, and of those good men in our later times, even in the Church of England, the saints and holy martyrs? Was it that I might only know the good things that they did? and what was that to me, if you intended not, or that I should not endeavour to fit and frame my life, in all I could, by the assistance of Almighty God's good grace and Spirit, to do and to live as they did, as much as was in my poor power to do?* The bishop would say: *Nick, thou wilt ever be too hard for me, I must give you the bucklers*[2]. *God bless thee, God bless thee, and give thee a long life, to His further glory and good of His Church, and thy*

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[1] Cf. Jebb, § 70.

[2] "It goeth against his [the cock's] stomach to yield the gauntlet and give the bucklers."—Holland's *Pliny*, 279 (x. 21), cited with other examples by Steevens on *Much ado about nothing*, v. 2. Compare Nares's *Glossary*.

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77. Dr. Francis White and Dr. Aug. Linsell (*ut antea*) one day talking of N. F. (the same doctor[1] which was lecturer at N. F.'s father's parish-church) said of N. F. that *whereas you and I and other scholars are, as I may say, like good tailors, we can take measure of a man, if he come to us and bring us cloth, and shall fit him well and cut it out for him. But N. F. I may compare to one of those Burchin-lane tailors*[2], *that, go but into their shops, they will without delay find you a fitting suit of apparel, ready-made, for cloth and colour and trimming as you would have it, and to sit neatly on your back: he will never let you go, till you are contented in all kinds and fitted to your mind; for he hath that variety of choice apparel, as will please all that come to him at an instant.*

78. About the second of November, 1637, being Friday[3], N. F. began to find some weakness and debility in his body, yet he went that morning to

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[1] i. e. White.

[2] "It had not been amiss if we had gone to Burchen-lane first to have suited us; and yet it is a credit for a man of the sword to go thread-bare." *Royal King. Anc. Dr.* vi. 235. "His discourse makes not his behaviour, but he buys it at court, as countrymen their clothes in Birchin-lane." *Overbury, Char.* 17 *of a fine Gent.* (cited by Nares). See other passages in Cunningham's *Handbook.*

[3] Friday was the third.

church and rhymed as he used to do: but coming home, he sat himself down, and said, *he was somewhat faint, but not to pain in any part;* but his friends about him remarking, *how he found himself?* said, *he was reached*, and there being a fire in the room, he there reposed himself, they having brought him some broth to drink, of which he took some. And when some said, *they hoped in God's mercy it would pass away*, he said, *he thought, not so.* Then said he, *send for Mr. Groose*[1] *the minister of Great Gidding.* Who when he came, he told him, *he was glad to see him:* and after some questions and answers about his health, N. F. said, *he was to entreat him, that he would come now daily to Little Gidding and officiate for him. For,* said he, *that's my first care, that the service of my God be not one day neglected by those that can go to church. We owe much more than any our continual serving God; for His favours to us are above what we can express, and the performances of our dutiful thankfulness can have no end. I shall not, I know, be any more able to perform my duty to Him at church, but come, I pray you, daily, and perform there my part.* (Which he did). After some discourse of sickness and mortality and of the joys of heaven, Mr. Groose took his leave, N. F. heartily praying him, to beg of God to fit him more and more every

[1] Luke Gross of Gt. Gidding, clerk, is mentioned in the title deeds of the Gidding estate as having had tenure of a meadow in that estate.

hour for the good and happy honour, which he desired in God's good time to enjoy.

79. His friends' minds now began to be full of sorrow (as just cause they had) in regard of their own conditions, if God should take away such an instrument of their happiness. He, discerning their looks to be sad and thoughts troubled them, did in a comfortable manner use such exhortations to them, as he thought needful in such a case, and willed them *with all patience to submit unto God's good will and pleasure, as he was resolved to do, knowing that the time of his life here was at an end.* They told him that *they hoped God would yet spare him for their future good. Well,* said he, *I will not forbid you to pray so, yet let me tell you, I am persuaded it will not be so, but my time is come.* So some urging him, *upon what reasons he seemed to be so confident of it? Well,* said he, *I shall, the more to satisfy you, tell you one. In all former sickness I have had a strong desire to live, and an earnestness to pray to my God to spare me, which He hath to this day done, when all hopes of life were past, by the judgements of the most skilful physicians, and, according to human opinion, impossible; yet my fervent desires have continued to God to spare me, which He hath done, and, as they would say, in a miraculous manner was my life prolonged; and I may say it, to shew the infinite mercy and graciousness of my God, Who out of His mere goodness hath heard my prayers and granted me my request and given it me. And I may further say, to the glory of His great name,*

*I never earnestly set myself to beg of God anything, but He fulfilled the petition of His most unworthy servant. But now and of late, I have, nor do not find in my heart any inclination to beg longer life of God. Nay I rather desire to be dissolved with St. Paul*[1]*, and to leave this life for one eternal in heaven, through the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, now wholly and fully submitting myself to the blessed will of my good Lord, to do with me for life or death as He knows best for me;* and much more to this purpose he discoursed, as occasion was. That night he, growing somewhat hot and dry, went to his bed, but took not much sleep; yet in the morning he rose again, but found himself unfit to go into the air, and so kept his chamber and had prayers in it, though the family went at their hours to church.

80. He complained not of any pains now, neither in head or any part of his body, but a kind of faintness and decay of strength. Saturday night[2] he removed to another chamber, and so he rose no more out of his bed; but after two or three days he willed a pallet to be made on the floor, unto which he removed, and came no more off it. Sunday he received the communion, which Mr. Groose administered, and before it made a most solemn and comfortable confession of his faith, according to the Church of England, acknowledging his salvation to depend only upon the sweet and infinite mercies and sufferings of his most dear

[1] Phil. i. 23. [2] Nov. 4, 1637.

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, renouncing all other dependencies, saying, *when all men had done all they could, they must wholly acknowledge and confess themselves most unworthy servants.* In brief, such were his expressions, that the minister said, *he never had, or ever should hear the like again.* So with great desire and devotion he received the blessed sacrament with much joy; and during all his sickness his speech tended to nothing but exhortations to love, fear, and serve God, as the only comfort and happiness of this world, and to the better. He often would exhort the family, that *they should stedfastly and constantly adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to continue in the good old way and in those they have been taught out of the word of God, and in what he had accordingly informed them of, for it was the true, right, good way to heaven;* that *they should find oppositions, and means used by those that they did not expect it from to withdraw them, to hinder, to divert them. But,* said he, *I forewarn you to be constant, to be stedfast in the good old way. You will find danger and trouble, but shrink not, rely upon God, and serve Him in sincerity of devotion, both in souls and bodies; God will have both, He made both, and both must worship Him in reverence and fear. He is a great Lord God, as full of mercy, so of majesty. I am now going before Him, to give an account of what I have said to you and instructed you in. I again say, what I have taught you is according to His good will and heavenly word, and*

72. And let me here add some few lines in one of Mr. Herbert's letters to N. F., thus:

MY EXCEEDING DEAR BROTHER,

Although you have a much better paymaster than myself, even Him, Whom we both serve: yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton[1] upon my account and give you myself for it, to be yours for ever. God knows, I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it[2]. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired, for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth, no, not though the advice step so far as to be reproof[3]: much less

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[1] "Besides his parsonage [Bemerton], he had also a prebend in the church of Lincoln; which (I think because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of, that place) he would fain have resigned to Master Ferrar, and often earnestly sued to him to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity (as I take it) to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps [i.e. revenue. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 143] of the prebend lay."—Barnabas Oley (*Life of Herbert*, cvi). Herbert's patron was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, (Hacket, ii. 42).

[2] See Ferrar's *preface* to Herbert's *Temple*.

[3] "There is one thing which I admire above all the rest: the right management of the fraternal duty of reproof is

can I disesteem it from you, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering you any other ways, as neither I myself desire to be considered. Particularly, I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. [*So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church, in such and such a form, as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had, and would do, to get moneys to proceed in it; and concludes thus.*] You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton church the care be amongst the chiefest also: so also have I requested Mr. W.[1] for his part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all, in your several ways, one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript.

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*observe them. Well,* said the other gentleman, *if those be your twelve crosses, then all the other windows in the church have three times twelve crosses, and all my lord's windows here have crosses.* Then all the company fell a laughing, and said *the thing was a riddle, true and not true. But,* said the lord, *you that know Gidding so well, tell us, that we may be truly satisfied what your opinions are of that family, what are they for their religion? else we hear that they are charitable, and live well and peaceably. My lord, if you will needs have my opinion of them, I must say that they are orthodox, regular, puritan protestants. Come then,* said the lord, *let us let them alone, and fall to some other discourse.* This gentleman not long after came to Gidding and told what had happened. This is only by the by, to let be known, how impudent and foolish malice is in some men, and the historian may take notice, if he please, in the passage of Dr. Morison's proposition and the answer of N. F. to it.

68. N. F. with some divines talking about the mass, and he expressing more than ordinary dislike of it, one of them said to him: *Sir, suppose it should so happen that against your will mass should be said in your house, what would you do, seeing you have intimated dislike of the place, where such thing should be used?* His answer was by a known story of the king of Spain's sending to one of his nobility, to borrow his house to lodge the duke of Bourbon: which that peer granted, but solemnly declared *he would burn his house, as soon as that traitor was*

*gone out of it*, &c.[1] *What mean you, Sir, by this?* said one. *Do you account the mass so great a traitor, and would you burn your house if it were said there? I say not so*, said N. F.; *I have not a purse to build up another. But I tell you, seeing you put me to it, I would pull down the room and build it up again*[2].

69. From this they fell to temperance in diet, and desired his opinion of it: and desiring to have it of him in writing, I find they had it in this manner. *Temperance in diet is to eat only to necessity of nature and conveniency of employment, so as we may the better perform that which God calls us to the performance of: and he that eats to and for pleasure doth not exercise an act of temperance, but of human frailty. And he that voluntarily eats so, as thereby to become disabled for that which God requires of him, is intemperate.*

70. And upon another time, some friends intimating to him their fears that the strictness of his life, of diet, and his fastings, watchings, &c., might impair his health and shorten his life, he made

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[1] The reply of the *Marquis de Villena* to Charles V., is reported by Guicciardini, lib. xvi. (viii. 242, Lond. 8vo. 1822).

[2] He declared to Lenton "with a protestation *That he did as verily believe the pope to be antichrist as any article of his faith.* 'Wherewith,' says Lenton quaintly, 'I was satisfied and silenced'."—Peckard, 289. Not so the libeller: "therein if he spake from his heart, he much differed from the opinions of priest Shelford, priest Squire, Dr. Draffig, the red dragon of Arminians."—Hearne's *Langtoft*, cxxix.

answer to this effect: that *he knew that whosoever, upon what pretence soever, did by these means infringe their healths, did sore amiss and sin; for that it is found by daily experience that sickly, infirm, and weak healths make men subject to many ill passions and distempers, and the pains of the body disquiet the mind not a little, and make us not so apt and fit, neither to perform our duties to God in that station He hath appointed us, nor to execute our duty to our neighbour.*

71. Many arguments N. F. used, fully to satisfy his friends in those his actions, in spareness of diet, fasting, watching, and that he that did abridge his health and life, by these means or otherwise, was a kind of *felo de se*, and so would be found in God's books at the last. And this here in this place may be upon this occasion declared, that, as he told his mother, *she and others should see and find, that he should be more healthful by that course he held than he was in the former part of his life, and be able to perform more of his duty to God and that family.* And it is known to all, that he never had so much health together and ability of bodily strength and mind, as in the last seven years of his life, when he was, as they thought, most strictest in these things,—for eighteen hours of the twenty-four of the day and night he spent in some employments or other of both pains and care; for he reserved usually but six hours for his sleep, diet, and the like needful actions in those kinds;—that he grew seldom to sit by the fire but when on

some occasions, to satisfy others, he was invited;—that he after his mother's death (though before, to satisfy her mind, he went to bed or lay down upon a bed some four hours) did only lie upon a board[1] with a white bear's skin under him, and wrapping himself in a great shag black frieze gown, and from nine to one (as you heard before): at which hour of one he rose up to prayer and meditation. These things I only here touch as a proof that he found no impairing of health or strength in the last seven years of his age, and the most strictness of his life, as some term it[2].

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[1] Lessius thus briefly sums up the chief exercises of mortification: "Ex quibus perspicuum est, in sobrietate et abstinentia ad libidinem domandam longe majorem esse vim, quam in aliis corporis afflictationibus, ciliciis, disciplinis, chameunia, labore manuum."—*Hygiast.* § 60. Comp. Ducange, s. vv.

[2] "Follows an account of one Mr. W. a kinsman of N. F. and trading man in the city, who was desirous to take upon him the ministry, but was dissuaded by N. F. and afterwards by Mr. Herbert, yet would needs make a trial, but after some trial, finding himself well advised, returned to his trade. It is entertaining and instructive enough, but very long."—BAKER. Mr. W. is probably Arthur Woodnoth, goldsmith of Foster lane, London, the executor of Herbert, who "besides his own bounty collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church, [Leighton]; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid."—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, xxxiv. Many of Mrs. Collett's letters are directed to her cousin Arthur, who seems often to have visited Gidding, and to have been regarded as a brother by the family.

72. And let me here add some few lines in one of Mr. Herbert's letters to N. F., thus:

MY EXCEEDING DEAR BROTHER,

Although you have a much better paymaster than myself, even Him, Whom we both serve: yet I shall ever put your care of Leighton[1] upon my account and give you myself for it, to be yours for ever. God knows, I have desired a long time to do the place good, and have endeavoured many ways to find out a man for it[2]. And now my gracious Lord God is pleased to give me you for the man I desired, for which I humbly thank Him, and am so far from giving you cause to apology about your counselling me herein, that I take it exceeding kindly of you. I refuse not advice from the meanest that creeps upon God's earth, no, not though the advice step so far as to be reproof[3]: much less

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[1] "Besides his parsonage [Bemerton], he had also a prebend in the church of Lincoln; which (I think because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of, that place) he would fain have resigned to Master Ferrar, and often earnestly sued to him to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity (as I take it) to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps [i.e. revenue. Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 143] of the prebend lay."—Barnabas Oley (*Life of Herbert*, cvi). Herbert's patron was Williams, bishop of Lincoln, (Hacket, ii. 42).

[2] See Ferrar's *preface* to Herbert's *Temple*.

[3] "There is one thing which I admire above all the rest: the right management of the fraternal duty of reproof is

can I disesteem it from you, whom I esteem to be God's faithful and diligent servant, not considering you any other ways, as neither I myself desire to be considered. Particularly, I like all your addresses, and, for ought I see, they are ever to be liked. [*So he goes on in the discourse of the building the church, in such and such a form, as N. F. advised, and letting N. F. know all he had, and would do, to get moneys to proceed in it; and concludes thus.*] You write very lovingly, that all your things are mine. If so, let this of Leighton church the care be amongst the chiefest also: so also have I requested Mr. W.[1] for his part. Now God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ bless you more and more, and so turn you all, in your several ways, one to the other, that ye may be a heavenly comfort, to His praise and the great joy of

Your brother and servant in Christ Jesus,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Postscript.

As I had written thus much, I received a letter from my brother, sir Henry H.[2], of the

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methinks one of the most difficult offices of christian prudence. . . . This author had not only got the courage to do this, but the art of doing this aright. There was not a man in his way, be he of what rank he would, but he wiped his mouth with a modest, grave, and christian reproof."—Oley, cvi, cvii.

[1] Woodnoth.

[2] Sir Henry Herbert the sixth brother, "who became a menial servant to the crown in the days of king James, and

blessed success that God had given us, by moving the duchess's[1] heart to an exceeding cheerfulness, in signing £100 with her own hands, and promising to get her son to do as much, with some little apology that she had done nothing in it (as my brother writes) hitherto. She referred it also to my brother to name at first, what the sum should be: but he told her grace, that he would by no means do so, urging that charity must be free. She liked our book well, and has given order to the tenants at Leighton to make payment of it. God Almighty prosper the work. Amen.

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hath continued to be so for fifty years, during all which time he hath been master of the revels."—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, xi.

"DEAR BRO.

I was glad of your Cambridge news, but you joyed me exceedingly with your relation of my lady duchess's forwardness in our church building. I am glad I used you in it, and you have no cause to be sorry, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rub, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To shew a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony of a good spirit. The Lord bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

*March* 21, *Bemerton*.

To my dear brother, Sir Henry

Herbert, at court."—Warner's *Letters*, Ser. I. i. 7.

[1] Catherine Clifton, wife of Esme Stuart, third duke of Lenox, and mother of James the fourth duke.

73. In another to N. F. he thus begins:

MY DEAR BROTHER.

I thank you heartily for Leighton, your care, your counsel, your cost. And as I am glad for the thing, so no less glad for the heart that God has given you and yours to pious works. Blessed be my God and dear Master, the spring and fountain of all goodness. As for my assistance, doubt not, through God's blessing, but it shall be to the full: and for my power, I have sent my letters to your brother, investing him in all that I have. [*And so he goes on in his advice for the ordering of things to that business.*]

74. I shall here set down a paper which I find amongst some other passages, the which will in part shew N. F.'s dear affection to this most deserving Mr. George Herbert, viz.:

On Friday the — Mr. Mapletoft[1] brought us word that Mr. Herbert, as he heard, was past hope of recovery; which was very grievous news, and so much the more, as altogether unexpected, we having understood no danger of his sickness till then. It seemed, as we afterwards understood[2], about the hour, wherein we received this news, of which we being wholly ignorant, made presently our public

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[1] Joshua Mapletoft, husband of Susanna Collett, N. F.'s niece.

[2] Probably "*he died*" should here be supplied.

supplications for his health, in the words and manner following[1]:

"O most mighty God, and merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, if it be Thy good pleasure, to continue to us that singular benefit which Thou hast given us in the friendship of Thy servant, our dear brother, who now lieth on the bed of sickness. Let him abide with us yet awhile, for the furtherance of our faith. We have indeed deserved by our ingratitude, not only the loss of him, but whatever other opportunities Thou hast given us for the attainment of our salvation. We do not deserve to be heard in our supplications; but Thy mercies are above all Thy works. In consideration whereof we prostrate ourselves in all humble earnestness, beseeching Thee, if so it may seem good to Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt hear us in this, Who hast heard us in all the rest, and that Thou wilt bring him back again from the gates of death: that Thou wilt yet awhile spare him, that he may live to Thy honour, and our comfort. Lord, Thou hast willed that our delights should be in the saints on earth, and in such as excel in virtue: how then should we not be afflicted, and mourn when Thou takest them away from us! Thou hast made him a great help, and furtherance of the best things

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[1] "Then follows a prayer to that purpose, very good, but very long."—BAKER, who has omitted the prayer, which is here printed from Peckard.

amongst us, how then can we but esteem the loss of him a chastisement from Thy displeasure! O Lord, we beseech Thee that it may not be so: we beseech Thee, if it be Thy good pleasure, restore unto us our dear brother, by restoring to him his health: so will we praise and magnify Thy name and mercy with a song of thanksgiving. Hear us, O Lord, for Thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen."

75. But to proceed with N. F.'s life and actions. He always gave command, then, whenever he were at study, if any stranger or other did come and desire to speak with him, he might know it, for he would say, that *it might in one kind or other be hoped that they came for his good or their own, and it was the thing he loved to make himself or others better.* He would observe something from them, or out of them, to be of benefit to himself, to confirm in what was good, or to hate vice more and more; and he would endeavour to do them all the good he could, by words or example, and seldom or never any parted with him but received satisfaction.

76. He had great skill in physiognomy; he ever had a special regard of all men's actions and dispositions, their tempers and affections. Insomuch that many of his friends and acquaintance that were intimate with him, would say of him, that *he did know their tempers and their selves, inside and outside, much better than themselves did:* and it hath been proved, that if he did but converse some few days with men and that they did not know his

intent, by what he heard from them and by such kind of discourse that he would put to them, he would tell, how those men were inclined, what ways and means would soon please or displease them, how they were to be dealt with in persuading or dissuading to this or that, and in brief, how most men were to be ruled and overcome and mastered by their counsellor or friends. And he so won the affections of most that he conversed with, as it was strange to all that knew him, how he could deal with all sorts of people for their good, and, as some merry friends would say, *make himself master of them.* He had this very art from his younger years, insomuch as it is well known, that when some differences have been in the college amongst the fellows many times in some college affairs, he then but a young fellow, yet so won upon each side that he could draw them off many times from their resolutions, to leave their passions and hearken to reason, and what was as it ought to be; and that in such a winning way and sweet way, in knowing all their tempers of mind and applying his arguments properly to them, that oftentimes in a little calm, some of the fellows having found that such and such had receded from their determinations and changed their minds, they would say in their passions, *This young boy Nick Ferrar can do more with his tutor Linsell and others than all we can; such an insinuating subtle boy he is.* And his tutor would laugh heartily at his friends, and tell them: *If Nick took them to task, he would alter them also.*

But, for all these things, yet he never lost their love nor friendship one inch, but, having better considered of it, would merrily put it over and pass it off. He would never for love or fear, in a right matter and just thing, step one jot out of the way, to give way to a wrong business. His tutor Linsell would often say of him to the rest of the fellows, *God keep Nick in a right mind and way; for if he should turn schismatic or heretic he would make work for all the world; such a head, such a heart, such prevalent arguments he hath, and such a ready tongue and pen, such a memory, with that indefatigable pains* (*for*, said he, *I think he is made up of industry*), *that I know not, who will be able to grapple with him.* And what respect his tutor (who was since bishop of Peterborough and Hereford) carried towards him to his day of death, all men know. Who would profess solemnly, in all companies where he came, that *N. F. was both a better scholar and abler divine, than he himself was;* that *since he came from travel, he never came from N. F.'s company but, before they parted, he learned some new, profitable, good thing, that he never before knew of;* and would constantly affirm that, *of all men he knew, he would have him to be his confessor, and then he should be a happy man in such a thing.* It is true, he loved and honoured his tutor exceedingly, and bore great reverence to him; yet it was well known, that he never heard his tutor say or do amiss at any time, but he would, before they parted, in some sweet good way let him know his mind,

which was commonly in way of story[1]. And he would beg of his tutor and friends to tell him also in what he did amiss at any time. His tutor, when he saw him, towards the last seven years of his life, betake himself to so temperate a diet and sparing, to that fasting and watching, would pleasantly say to him: *Nick, whither will you go? What example will you give us?* He would pleasantly reply: *Nay, tutor, you are to answer to God for this. Why did you commend unto me, and made me (being so young at college, as I was) to read the lives of all the holy men of old time, and saints of God, the good fathers of the Church, and of those good men in our later times, even in the Church of England, the saints and holy martyrs? Was it that I might only know the good things that they did? and what was that to me, if you intended not, or that I should not endeavour to fit and frame my life, in all I could, by the assistance of Almighty God's good grace and Spirit, to do and to live as they did, as much as was in my poor power to do?* The bishop would say: *Nick, thou wilt ever be too hard for me, I must give you the bucklers*[2]. *God bless thee, God bless thee, and give thee a long life, to His further glory and good of His Church, and thy*

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[1] Cf. Jebb, § 70.

[2] "It goeth against his [the cock's] stomach to yield the gauntlet and give the bucklers."—Holland's *Pliny*, 279 (x. 21), cited with other examples by Steevens on *Much ado about nothing*, v. 2. Compare Nares's *Glossary*.

*family, whom I see thou wilt never leave to do good to, for their spiritual and temporal happiness and welfare.*

77. Dr. Francis White and Dr. Aug. Linsell (*ut antea*) one day talking of N. F. (the same doctor[1] which was lecturer at N. F.'s father's parish-church) said of N. F. that *whereas you and I and other scholars are, as I may say, like good tailors, we can take measure of a man, if he come to us and bring us cloth, and shall fit him well and cut it out for him. But N. F. I may compare to one of those Burchin-lane tailors*[2], *that, go but into their shops, they will without delay find you a fitting suit of apparel, ready-made, for cloth and colour and trimming as you would have it, and to sit neatly on your back: he will never let you go, till you are contented in all kinds and fitted to your mind; for he hath that variety of choice apparel, as will please all that come to him at an instant.*

78. About the second of November, 1637, being Friday[3], N. F. began to find some weakness and debility in his body, yet he went that morning to

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[1] i. e. White.

[2] "It had not been amiss if we had gone to Burchen-lane first to have suited us; and yet it is a credit for a man of the sword to go thread-bare." *Royal King. Anc. Dr.* vi. 235. "His discourse makes not his behaviour, but he buys it at court, as countrymen their clothes in Birchin-lane." *Overbury, Char.* 17 *of a fine Gent.* (cited by Nares). See other passages in Cunningham's *Handbook*.

[3] Friday was the third.

church and officiated as he used to do: but coming home, he sat himself down, and said, *he was somewhat faint, but felt no pain in any part;* but his friends about him demanding, *how he found himself?* said, *he was faintish*, and, there being a fire in the room, he there reposed himself, they having brought him some broth to drink, of which he took some. And when some said, *they hoped in God's mercy it would pass away*, he said, *he thought, not so.* Then said he, *send for Mr. Groose*[1] *the minister of Great Gidding.* Who when he came, he told him, *he was glad to see him;* and after some questions and answers about his health, N. F. said, *he was to entreat him, that he would come now daily to Little Gidding and officiate for him. For*, said he, *that's my first care, that the service of my God be not one day neglected by those that can go to church. We owe much more than any our continual serving God; for His favours to us are above what we can express, and the performances of our dutiful thankfulness can have no end. I shall not, I know, be any more able to perform my duty to Him at church, but come, I pray you, daily, and perform there my part.* (Which he did). After some discourse of sickness and mortality and of the joys of heaven, Mr. Groose took his leave, N. F. heartily praying him, to beg of God to fit him more and more every

[1] Luke Gross of Gt. Gidding, clerk, is mentioned in the title deeds of the Gidding estate as having had tenure of a meadow in that estate.

hour for the good and happy honour, which he desired in God's good time to enjoy.

79. His friends' minds now began to be full of sorrow (as just cause they had) in regard of their own conditions, if God should take away such an instrument of their happiness. He, discerning their looks to be sad and thoughts troubled them, did in a comfortable manner use such exhortations to them, as he thought needful in such a case, and willed them *with all patience to submit unto God's good will and pleasure, as he was resolved to do, knowing that the time of his life here was at an end.* They told him that *they hoped God would yet spare him for their future good. Well,* said he, *I will not forbid you to pray so, yet let me tell you, I am persuaded it will not be so, but my time is come.* So some urging him, *upon what reasons he seemed to be so confident of it? Well,* said he, *I shall, the more to satisfy you, tell you one. In all former sickness I have had a strong desire to live, and an earnestness to pray to my God to spare me, which He hath to this day done, when all hopes of life were past, by the judgements of the most skilful physicians, and, according to human opinion, impossible; yet my fervent desires have continued to God to spare me, which He hath done, and, as they would say, in a miraculous manner was my life prolonged; and I may say it, to shew the infinite mercy and graciousness of my God, Who out of His mere goodness hath heard my prayers and granted me my request and given it me. And I may further say, to the glory of His great name,*

*I never earnestly set myself to beg of God anything, but He fulfilled the petition of His most unworthy servant. But now and of late, I have, nor do not find in my heart any inclination to beg longer life of God. Nay I rather desire to be dissolved with St. Paul*[1]*, and to leave this life for one eternal in heaven, through the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, now wholly and fully submitting myself to the blessed will of my good Lord, to do with me for life or death as He knows best for me;* and much more to this purpose he discoursed, as occasion was. That night he, growing somewhat hot and dry, went to his bed, but took not much sleep; yet in the morning he rose again, but found himself unfit to go into the air, and so kept his chamber and had prayers in it, though the family went at their hours to church.

80. He complained not of any pains now, neither in head or any part of his body, but a kind of faintness and decay of strength. Saturday night[2] he removed to another chamber, and so he rose no more out of his bed; but after two or three days he willed a pallet to be made on the floor, unto which he removed, and came no more off it. Sunday he received the communion, which Mr. Groose administered, and before it made a most solemn and comfortable confession of his faith, according to the Church of England, acknowledging his salvation to depend only upon the sweet and infinite mercies and sufferings of his most dear

[1] Phil. i. 23. [2] Nov. 4, 1637.

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, renouncing all other dependencies, saying, *when all men had done all they could, they must wholly acknowledge and confess themselves most unworthy servants.* In brief, such were his expressions, that the minister said, *he never had, or ever should hear the like again.* So with great desire and devotion he received the blessed sacrament with much joy; and during all his sickness his speech tended to nothing but exhortations to love, fear, and serve God, as the only comfort and happiness of this world, and to the better. He often would exhort the family, that *they should stedfastly and constantly adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to continue in the good old way and in those they have been taught out of the word of God, and in what he had accordingly informed them of, for it was the true, right, good way to heaven;* that *they should find oppositions, and means used by those that they did not expect it from to withdraw them, to hinder, to divert them. But,* said he, *I forewarn you to be constant, to be stedfast in the good old way. You will find danger and trouble, but shrink not, rely upon God, and serve Him in sincerity of devotion, both in souls and bodies; God will have both, He made both, and both must worship Him in reverence and fear. He is a great Lord God, as full of mercy, so of majesty. I am now going before Him, to give an account of what I have said to you and instructed you in. I again say, what I have taught you is according to His good will and heavenly word, and*

*out of it. Be you stedfast and of good cheer, if you continue to serve Him, He will be your shield and defence to preserve you.* Much to this and the like effect he spake often to them, as occasion served. One day, speaking of some employment for the family to proceed in, as they had begun, about their concordances and the new device way of printing, as some termed it, he said, *he would have them to keep and preserve the thing and the pictures. For,* said he, *I hope God will send you ways and means and helps to go forward with them, and you may grow to perfection of something, by such helps as God will send. Leave not the thought of them, though I be gone.* And here by the way, because I speak of his remembering of pictures, for as you have been formerly told that he caused some of the works they had made to be set forth with pictures:—*that* he wholly disliked, to have the picture of God to be made or used in any place or thing, saying, *it was a breach of the second commandment to make any such resemblance.*

81. Some neighbour ministers, hearing he was ill, came to visit him; and, after salutations, he would desire them to say with him the Belief and Lord's Prayer, which he would say, and then they proceed in such discourse as was fit for those that came to converse with dying men. And one minister said unto him, *What joy may you now have of the many good alms-deeds you have done in several kinds, in a liberal manner;* and then would have gone on in the numbering them up. But N. F. cut him off

instantly, *What speak you of such things? Mass*[1], *I am to ask my God forgiveness for my great neglect in that my duty. It had been but my part to have given all that I had, and not to have scattered a few crumbs of alms here and there. The Lord God forgive, I most humbly beseech Him, my too much carnal love to my friends in this kind.*

82. Thus in heavenly counsels to all the family he passed the days and nights, in praying and in exhortation, and found himself to grow more weak and faintish daily, but his spirit was quick and lively, and all senses as perfect as at any time in the best of his health; and found not pain or aches in any part of his body, taking now and then some broths, and his heats did much abate, and his thirstiness also. One time he called for his brother's and sister's young children, his nephew Nicholas Ferrar[2], whom he dearly loved and, as you heard, had for him and the rest of his sister's children provided all liberal means for the training up of them at Gidding in learning, in several kinds[3]. And this youth he loved dearly and looked upon as him, to whom Gidding, by God's blessing, would in the end descend; and desirous he was, that he might continue in that virtuous and pious course he had by his love and

[1] *Mass* or *Mess*, i. e. *By the Mass*, still used in the North (Pegge's *Anecdotes of the Engl. language*, 388), and in Derbysh. and Lancash. (Grose's *Provincial Glossary*). It occurs again below.

[2] See the sequel to this life, from a Lambeth MS.

[3] See Appendix.

care been trained up in from his cradle. He gave him and the rest of his sister's young children his hearty blessing, with many good counsels and precepts *to remember all that he taught them in their books called* The children's morning and night precepts *and their story-books, and to keep in heart diligently their psalms and concordances, that then God would love them and no good thing, that was good for them, they should want; that they should ever remember that the fear of God was the beginning of wisdom, and procured all happiness.* To these and other the like things he advised, and so kissed them all, with earnest calling upon God, *that He would ever keep them in His protection, for he only was safe, that God kept.*

83. I may not here omit to touch, as by the way, that his brother John Ferrar having one only daughter[1] the year after he came to Gidding, N. F. and his mother (and that out of both their affections to the remembrance of the plantation of Virginia, which, as relate before, they so dearly affected, and that J. F. might daily more and more have the memorial of it, as not to cease praying for the prosperity of it and doing all the good he could otherwise to it, as opportunity in anything or kind that might happen in his power in success of time to come,) named his daughter Virginia, so that speaking unto her, looking upon

[1] "She being born on Christmas-eve was christened upon Christmas-day."—MS.

her, or hearing others call her by her name, he might think upon both at once. This is but by the bye; yet let me say, both grandmother and uncle loved her and liked her much the better for her name; and what further insight they had in giving her that name, let others conjecture[1].

But to proceed.

84. N. F. at one time in his sickness overheard his brother J. F. bemoaning his and the families infinite loss to a minister then by, if God should now take N. F. from them; and, in his exuberance of grief, concluded: *Mass, what shall become of us poor sheep, if the shepherd be thus now taken from us?* N. F. called him to him, saying, *Ah, my brother, what mean you to use that expression? Do you know, what you say?* and with passion said, *Go, I pray, go to church, and fast this day, and beg of God to forgive you your undue speeches and expressions; it much grieveth me to hear them; God forgive you them, I beseech him.* And the minister one day, speaking to him about his sickness: *Whether,* said he, *is it for the trial of your patience, or for your sins, or for our punishment.* At that word he grew very much offended and displeased, and with great vehemency and loud voice besought him, that *he would not let such a word proceed out of his mouth, nay, not think such a thought, for he was a most miserable sinner;* and so went on in that kind.

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[1] She never was married.

which was commonly in way of story[1]. And he would beg of his tutor and friends to tell him also in what he did amiss at any time. His tutor, when he saw him, towards the last seven years of his life, betake himself to so temperate a diet and sparing, to that fasting and watching, would pleasantly say to him: *Nick, whither will you go? What example will you give us?* He would pleasantly reply: *Nay, tutor, you are to answer to God for this. Why did you commend unto me, and made me (being so young at college, as I was) to read the lives of all the holy men of old time, and saints of God, the good fathers of the Church, and of those good men in our later times, even in the Church of England, the saints and holy martyrs? Was it that I might only know the good things that they did? and what was that to me, if you intended not, or that I should not endeavour to fit and frame my life, in all I could, by the assistance of Almighty God's good grace and Spirit, to do and to live as they did, as much as was in my poor power to do?* The bishop would say: *Nick, thou wilt ever be too hard for me, I must give you the bucklers*[2]. *God bless thee, God bless thee, and give thee a long life, to His further glory and good of His Church, and thy*

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[1] Cf. Jebb, § 70.

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77. Dr. Francis White and Dr. Aug. Linsell (*ut antea*) one day talking of N. F. (the same doctor[1] which was lecturer at N. F.'s father's parish-church) said of N. F. that *whereas you and I and other scholars are, as I may say, like good tailors, we can take measure of a man, if he come to us and bring us cloth, and shall fit him well and cut it out for him. But N. F. I may compare to one of those Burchin-lane tailors*[2], *that, go but into their shops, they will without delay find you a fitting suit of apparel, ready-made, for cloth and colour and trimming as you would have it, and to sit neatly on your back: he will never let you go, till you are contented in all kinds and fitted to your mind; for he hath that variety of choice apparel, as will please all that come to him at an instant.*

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79. His friends' minds now began to be full of sorrow (as just cause they had) in regard of their own conditions, if God should take away such an instrument of their happiness. He, discerning their looks to be sad and thoughts troubled them, did in a comfortable manner use such exhortations to them, as he thought needful in such a case, and willed them *with all patience to submit unto God's good will and pleasure, as he was resolved to do, knowing that the time of his life here was at an end.* They told him that *they hoped God would yet spare him for their future good. Well,* said he, *I will not forbid you to pray so, yet let me tell you, I am persuaded it will not be so, but my time is come.* So some urging him, *upon what reasons he seemed to be so confident of it? Well,* said he, *I shall, the more to satisfy you, tell you one. In all former sickness I have had a strong desire to live, and an earnestness to pray to my God to spare me, which He hath to this day done, when all hopes of life were past, by the judgements of the most skilful physicians, and, according to human opinion, impossible; yet my fervent desires have continued to God to spare me, which He hath done, and, as they would say, in a miraculous manner was my life prolonged; and I may say it, to shew the infinite mercy and graciousness of my God, Who out of His mere goodness hath heard my prayers and granted me my request and given it me. And I may further say, to the glory of His great name,*

*I never earnestly set myself to beg of God anything, but He fulfilled the petition of His most unworthy servant. But now and of late, I have, nor do not find in my heart any inclination to beg longer life of God. Nay I rather desire to be dissolved with St. Paul*[1]*, and to leave this life for one eternal in heaven, through the merits of my Saviour Jesus Christ, now wholly and fully submitting myself to the blessed will of my good Lord, to do with me for life or death as He knows best for me;* and much more to this purpose he discoursed, as occasion was. That night he, growing somewhat hot and dry, went to his bed, but took not much sleep; yet in the morning he rose again, but found himself unfit to go into the air, and so kept his chamber and had prayers in it, though the family went at their hours to church.

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Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, renouncing all other dependencies, saying, *when all men had done all they could, they must wholly acknowledge and confess themselves most unworthy servants.* In brief, such were his expressions, that the minister said, *he never had, or ever should hear the like again.* So with great desire and devotion he received the blessed sacrament with much joy; and during all his sickness his speech tended to nothing but exhortations to love, fear, and serve God, as the only comfort and happiness of this world, and to the better. He often would exhort the family, that *they should stedfastly and constantly adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England, and to continue in the good old way and in those they have been taught out of the word of God, and in what he had accordingly informed them of, for it was the true, right, good way to heaven;* that *they should find oppositions, and means used by those that they did not expect it from to withdraw them, to hinder, to divert them. But,* said he, *I forewarn you to be constant, to be stedfast in the good old way. You will find danger and trouble, but shrink not, rely upon God, and serve Him in sincerity of devotion, both in souls and bodies; God will have both, He made both, and both must worship Him in reverence and fear. He is a great Lord God, as full of mercy, so of majesty. I am now going before Him, to give an account of what I have said to you and instructed you in. I again say, what I have taught you is according to His good will and heavenly word, and*

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instantly, *What speak you of such things? Mass*[1], *I am to ask my God forgiveness for my great neglect in that my duty. It had been but my part to have given all that I had, and not to have scattered a few crumbs of alms here and there. The Lord God forgive, I most humbly beseech Him, my too much carnal love to my friends in this kind.*

82. Thus in heavenly counsels to all the family he passed the days and nights, in praying and in exhortation, and found himself to grow more weak and faintish daily, but his spirit was quick and lively, and all senses as perfect as at any time in the best of his health; and found not pain or aches in any part of his body, taking now and then some broths, and his heats did much abate, and his thirstiness also. One time he called for his brother's and sister's young children, his nephew Nicholas Ferrar[2], whom he dearly loved and, as you heard, had for him and the rest of his sister's children provided all liberal means for the training up of them at Gidding in learning, in several kinds[3]. And this youth he loved dearly and looked upon as him, to whom Gidding, by God's blessing, would in the end descend; and desirous he was, that he might continue in that virtuous and pious course he had by his love and

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But to proceed.

84. N. F. at one time in his sickness overheard his brother J. F. bemoaning his and the families infinite loss to a minister then by, if God should now take N. F. from them; and, in his exuberance of grief, concluded: *Mass, what shall become of us poor sheep, if the shepherd be thus now taken from us?* N. F. called him to him, saying, *Ah, my brother, what mean you to use that expression? Do you know, what you say?* and with passion said, *Go, I pray, go to church, and fast this day, and beg of God to forgive you your undue speeches and expressions; it much grieveth me to hear them; God forgive you them, I beseech him.* And the minister one day, speaking to him about his sickness: *Whether*, said he, *is it for the trial of your patience, or for your sins, or for our punishment.* At that word he grew very much offended and displeased, and with great vehemency and loud voice besought him, that *he would not let such a word proceed out of his mouth, nay, not think such a thought, for he was a most miserable sinner;* and so went on in that kind.

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85. Sunday being come, he found himself more and more declining, and heartily wishing and humbly praying, as daily he used, that *God in His good time would release him out of this world, that so he might rest in the sweet bosom of his Lord and Saviour Jesus, whither he knew he should go, if once freed out of this wretched life. Why stay I here, Lord, any longer, who can now do little but take my ease and sleep? Lord, in Thy good time receive my soul.*

86. This Sunday was the first Sunday of the month[1], the constant usual day for their monthly communion. He acquainted the minister, that *after he had celebrated it at the church he would come home and give it to him; for now it was that heavenly food that was his only stay, strength, and joy to receive. As for earthly food, he had now done with it: God would ere long hear his prayers, and the humble requests of his poor soul.* To this end and like effect he spake, but in far better expressions. When the minister came to give it him, he desired absolution, having made again a most full and lively confession of his faith. The minister said, *Shall I give it you in the words of the book? I, I*[2], said he, *nothing better, nothing*

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[1] Dec. 3, 1637, Advent Sunday.

[2] The old way of writing and pronouning *Aye*. See below. In the exercises of the maiden-sisters of Little Gidding the word occurs more than once. "'Perhaps it was my disciple.' 'I, so I guess.'" "All laws are silenced, I, all authority is

*better*[1]. Then he received in most devout manner the sacrament; which done, gave Almighty God most humble and hearty thanks for this inestimable benefit and favour, and used very effectual words to that purpose, and so awhile lay very silent and still.

87. And afterwards being demanded, *How he felt himself?* he would say *he was very well, blessed be God, but hoped to be better ere long.* As his friends, brother, sister, nieces, &c. stood about him with sad looks, he would bid them *be cheerful, for part we all must. It was the common portion of all men to die. Be of good comfort, be of good courage, we shall all meet again in heaven at last, I doubt it not* (*and some of you ere long*). *It will be the best wisdom, and only happiness, to prepare all for it: for who can be too ready for death?* And this meditation was greatly in his mind for three months at least before this time or hour (yet it

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dissolved." (Hearne, *Caii Vind.* 752, 792.) Nares's *Glossary* cites, *Two Gent. Ver.* i. 1, (*Proteus.* But what said she? Did she nod? *Speed* I. *Proteus.* Nod, I? why, that's noddy.) *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 2, (Hath Romeo slain himself? say thou but I, And that bare vowel I shall poison more Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice, &c.)

[1] "He said to Mr. Duncon, 'Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me,' which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, 'What prayers?' to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them; but at this time I beg you to pray only the litany, for I am weak and faint.'"—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, lxix.

which was commonly in way of story[1]. And he would beg of his tutor and friends to tell him also in what he did amiss at any time. His tutor, when he saw him, towards the last seven years of his life, betake himself to so temperate a diet and sparing, to that fasting and watching, would pleasantly say to him: *Nick, whither will you go? What example will you give us?* He would pleasantly reply: *Nay, tutor, you are to answer to God for this. Why did you commend unto me, and made me (being so young at college, as I was) to read the lives of all the holy men of old time, and saints of God, the good fathers of the Church, and of those good men in our later times, even in the Church of England, the saints and holy martyrs? Was it that I might only know the good things that they did? and what was that to me, if you intended not, or that I should not endeavour to fit and frame my life, in all I could, by the assistance of Almighty God's good grace and Spirit, to do and to live as they did, as much as was in my poor power to do?* The bishop would say: *Nick, thou wilt ever be too hard for me, I must give you the bucklers*[2]. *God bless thee, God bless thee, and give thee a long life, to His further glory and good of His Church, and thy*

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[1] She never was married.

85. Sunday being come, he found himself more and more declining, and heartily wishing and humbly praying, as daily he used, that *God in His good time would release him out of this world, that so he might rest in the sweet bosom of his Lord and Saviour Jesus, whither he knew he should go, if once freed out of this wretched life. Why stay I here, Lord, any longer, who can now do little but take my ease and sleep? Lord, in Thy good time receive my soul.*

86. This Sunday was the first Sunday of the month[1], the constant usual day for their monthly communion. He acquainted the minister, that *after he had celebrated it at the church he would come home and give it to him; for now it was that heavenly food that was his only stay, strength, and joy to receive. As for earthly food, he had now done with it: God would ere long hear his prayers, and the humble requests of his poor soul.* To this end and like effect he spake, but in far better expressions. When the minister came to give it him, he desired absolution, having made again a most full and lively confession of his faith. The minister said, *Shall I give it you in the words of the book? I, I*[2], said he, *nothing better, nothing*

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[1] Dec. 3, 1637, Advent Sunday.

[2] The old way of writing and pronouning *Aye*. See below. In the exercises of the maiden-sisters of Little Gidding the word occurs more than once. "'Perhaps it was my disciple.' 'I, so I guess.'" "All laws are silenced, I, all authority is

*better*[1]. Then he received in most devout manner the sacrament; which done, gave Almighty God most humble and hearty thanks for this inestimable benefit and favour, and used very effectual words to that purpose, and so awhile lay very silent and still.

87. And afterwards being demanded, *How he felt himself?* he would say *he was very well, blessed be God, but hoped to be better ere long.* As his friends, brother, sister, nieces, &c. stood about him with sad looks, he would bid them *be cheerful, for part we all must. It was the common portion of all men to die. Be of good comfort, be of good courage, we shall all meet again in heaven at last, I doubt it not (and some of you ere long). It will be the best wisdom, and only happiness, to prepare all for it: for who can be too ready for death?* And this meditation was greatly in his mind for three months at least before this time or hour (yet it

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dissolved." (Hearne, *Caii Vind.* 752, 792.) Nares's *Glossary* cites, *Two Gent. Ver.* i. 1, (*Proteus.* But what said she? Did she nod? *Speed* I. *Proteus.* Nod, I? why, that's noddy.) *Rom. and Jul.* iii. 2, (Hath Romeo slain himself? say thou but I, And that bare vowel I shall poison more Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice, &c.)

[1] "He said to Mr. Duncon, 'Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me,' which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, 'What prayers?' to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them; but at this time I beg you to pray only the litany, for I am weak and faint.'"—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, lxix.

may be truly said, it was daily one part of his meditations); and with his pen he enters into that field of address and contemplation, and writes a tract of that nature, as, when time is fitting, may be made more known to the world. I shall only here give you what I found written thus briefly in a paper in his hand, thus[1].

88. "The remembrance of death is very powerful to restrain us from sinning. For he who shall well consider that the day will come (and he knoweth not how soon) when he shall be laid on a sick bed, weak and faint, without ease and almost without strength, encompassed with melancholy thoughts, and overwhelmed with anguish; when on one side, his distemper increasing upon him, the physician tells him that he is past all hope of life, and on the other, his friends urge him to dispose of his worldly goods, and share his wealth among them, that wealth which he procured with trouble, and preserved with anxiety, that wealth which he now parts from with sorrow; when again the priest calls on him to take the preparatory measures for his departure; when he himself now begins to be assured that here he hath no abiding city, that this is no longer a world for him, that no more suns will rise and set upon him, that for him there will be no more seeing, no more hearing, no more speaking, no more touching, no more tasting, no

[1] The paper, omitted by Baker, is here given after Peckard, 246 seq.

more fancying, no more understanding, no more remembering, no more desiring, no more loving, no more delights of any sort to be enjoyed by him; but that death will at one stroke deprive him of all these things, that he will speedily be carried out of the house which he had called his own, and is now become anothers, that he will be put into a cold, narrow grave, that earth will be consigned to earth, ashes to ashes, and dust to dust: let any man duly and daily ponder these things, and how can it be that he should dare"——

89. But to proceed. He more particularly directed his speeches to his dearly beloved two nieces, Mary and Anna[1] (whom, as formerly related, he most entirely loved, who had both stedfastly, by the help of God's assistance, taken long ago resolution of living in virginity[2], and in such and such

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[1] Daughters of Mrs. Collett.

[2] "Yet nothing is so sound, but in time it will run into corruption. For I must not hold it in, that some persons in Little Gidding had run into excess, and incurred offence, if the bishop had not broken the snare which they were preparing for their own feet. For after he had spoken well of the family in the pulpit, and privately to divers, some of them could not see when they were well, but aspired to be transcendants above their measure. For two daughters of the stock came to the bishop, and offered themselves to be veiled virgins, to take upon them the vow of perpetual chastity, with the solemnity of the episcopal blessing and ratification. Whom he admonished very fatherly, that they knew not what they went about. That they had no promise to confirm that grace unto them; that this readiness, which they

ways and course of life, as they had chosen with the advice and assistance of their good uncle N. F.; whom he most tenderly affected, and highly esteemed of) that *they should be stedfast and commit themselves to the good guidance of their gracious Lord God and Master Jesus Christ, to Whom they had, more than in an ordinary manner, given themselves, each in their station;* assuring them, that *they should in the end have cause to rejoice in their good resolutions.*

90. Being demanded, *if the ministers should be called?* who not long before were gone out of the chamber, all supposing he had been asleep, he said, *Entreat them to come in and pray together.* Which being done, he desired them to say that prayer for

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had in the present, should be in their will, without repentance, to their life's end. Let the younger women marry, was the best advice, that they might not be led into temptation. And that they might not forget what he taught them, he drew up his judgment in three sheets of paper, and sent it them home, that they might dress themselves by that glass, and learn not to think of human nature above that which it is, a sea of flowings and ebbings, and of all manner of inconstancy. The direction of God was in this counsel: for one of the gentlewomen afterwards took a liking to a good husband, and was well bestowed." Hacket, ii. 52. "For the nunnery; he said that the name of nuns was odious. But the truth... was, that two of his nieces had lived, one thirty, the other, thirty-two years, virgins, and so resolved to continue (as he hoped they would), the better to give themselves to fasting and prayer: but had made no vows."—Lenton in Peckard, 289.

a dying man; which ended, he being by them demanded, *How he did?* said, *Pretty well, I thank my God and you, and I shall be better.* And then he lay very still above half an hour and more, all standing by him, supposing him to be in a fine slumber. But afterwards he, on a sudden, casting his hands out of the bed with great strength, and looking up and about, with a strong voice and cheerful said: *Oh, what a blessed change is here! What do I see? O let us come and sing unto the Lord, sing praises to the Lord, and magnify His Holy Name together. I have been at a great feast: O magnify the Lord with me.* One of his nieces said presently, *At a feast, dear father!* *I*[1], replied he, *at a great feast, the Great King's feast.* And this he uttered with as sound and perfect voice, as in time of his health. While all stood somewhat amazed, and loath to interrupt him, if he should say more, he laid himself down most quietly, putting his hands into the bed, laid them by his side, and then shut his eyes, and in this posture laid his legs stretched out most sweetly and still. The ministers went again presently to prayers, and after a while they said that prayer again, (*That God would be pleased to send His angels to carry his soul to heaven*), all kneeling round about his pallet. While these words were saying, he opened his lips and gave one gasp, and so not once moving or stirring hand, foot, or eyes, he rendered up his soul, to be carried in

[1] Aye.

their hands unto his Lord Jesus Christ's bosom, which was that he so often prayed for. And at that instant the clock struck *one*[1], the hour that he constantly rose up every morning to praise God and to pray unto Him. That very hour and time God, you see, called him to His heavenly kingdom, to praise Him everlastingly with the blessed angels and saints above, and as one of the company said, *He ended the sabbath here upon earth, to begin the everlasting in heaven*[2].

91. His body was kept till the Thursday[3] after; in which time it never smelled or purged at all, but was most fair and sweet. It was observed that his right hand and fingers were so lithe and flexible, as if they were of a living man, and so continued also at his putting into his coffin; whereas his arms and the rest of his body were stiff and not to be bended, as those were, which one might turn like a living hand; at which many did marvel. A friend said, *Well may that hand not grow stiff, that was so often day and night lifted up to God, and was so liberal in continual giving alms to the poor and needy in several kinds.*

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[1] Monday, Dec. 4, 1637.

[2] "It was about five o'clock on the Lord's day, but to him an everlasting sabbath. He never (by his good will) rested that day, since God was truly known unto him until now; God gave him therefore now an everlasting rest."—Clarke's *Lives* (1677), 113. Compare ibid. 123, 127, 130.

[3] Dec. 7.

92. There was a vault of brick made where he appointed his grave to be, wherein he was laid at the west end of the church, before the entering into the church. Mr. Robert Mapletoft[1], his good friend and cousin, and one that had a long and special intimate acquaintance with him, and one whom he loved exceeding well, who often came to Gidding and was most welcome to him;—he, I say, was pleased to preach his funeral sermon, and buried him. Whose sermon—that it may be annexed to this story of N. F.'s life, is the earnest request of the whole family of Little Gidding, and they shall esteem it a very great obligation to them.

93. N. F. had an offer[2], with importunity repeated, from a rich citizen, of his daughter, with

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[1] Fellow and (June 1664) master of Pembroke Hall, dean of Ely 1667, buried 20 Aug. 1677.—See Wood's *Fasti*, ii. 313 note (ed. Bliss), his will in Baker's MS. xxvi. 239—245, Bentham's *Ely*, i. 235, 6, Echard's *Hist.* iii. 437.

Ferrar's niece, Susanna Collett, married Joshua Mapletoft (Ward's *Gresham Professors*, 274), brother of Robert. John, the issue of this marriage, "upon the death of his father in 1635, was brought up at Gidding, in the devout family settled there by Nicholas Ferrar, who was his godfather."—Ward (ib. 277, is another notice of N. Ferrar). A harmony of the gospels and concordance and other books of Ferrar's were religiously preserved by his godson.

[2] "[He was] till some few years before his death never without proffers of wives, much beyond his deserts, as the markets go in Smithfield, &c." Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 84. Cf. 85. When Barrow was made master of Trinity, he caused

a fortune of £10,000: which N. F. thankfully and modestly declined, first alledging, that *he had disposed of all the estate his father left him, and should be an unequal match;* and, when further pressed, declaring himself, that *he was resolved not to marry at all, if God gave him grace so to continue as he was*, &c.[1]

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the clause of the patent which allowed him to marry to be erased, that he might not have "perpetually to stand upon his guard against the sieges, batteries, and importunities, which he foresaw that honourable and profitable preferment would expose him to."—Ibid. 165. Pope's slight error in this matter is thus corrected in a MS. note by Thomas Baker. "That patent was once mine (now lord Oxford's) where the marrying clause is erased, without the trouble or expense of taking a new one."

[1] Baker ends with a very brief account of the harmonies described at large in the following pages. The only sentence which is peculiar to him is given in a note below. He says that the MS. ended with two blank leaves which may have been intended for a history of the king's visits to Gidding. Peck (in Peckard, 307) writes: "I have now got the account of king Charles I. being three times at Gidding, in 1633, 1640, and 1646." See Appendix.

## *Works completed or designed by N. F. and his nephew*[1].

94. (1) FIRST WORK.

Glory be to God on High.

The actions, doctrines, and other passages touching our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists, reduced into one complete body of history; wherein that which is severally related by them, is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all, or any of them, is first expressed in their own words, by way of comparison; secondly, brought into one narration, by way of composition; thirdly, extracted into one clear context, by way of collection: yet so as whatsoever was omitted in the context, is inserted by way of supplement in another print, and in such a manner as all the Four Evangelists may easily be read severally and distinctly, each apart and alone, from first to last. Done at Little Gidding, anno 1630.

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[1] The following account is reprinted from Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.*, where it is given from MS. Lambeth, 251, p. 229 seq. It was written by John Ferrar, "probably in the year 1653, but to whom addressed does not appear." It is introduced in the MS. by a short note.

SIR,

Upon your request, and bound by the great obligation of your worth, I have thus scribbled out what here follows; rather willing to shame myself in this kind, than not to fulfil your desires. Such as it is, you will please to accept, from,

Sir,

Your much obliged in all love and service,

J. F.

In each page throughout the whole book were sundry exquisite pictures added, expressing either the facts themselves, or other types and figures, or matters appertaining thereunto, much to the pleasure of the eye, and delight to the reader.

95. (2) SECOND WORK.

The history of the Israelites, from the death of king Saul, to the carrying away captive into Babylon: collected out of the books of Kings and Chronicles, in the words of the texts themselves, without any alteration of importance by addition to them, or diminution from them: whereby, first, all the actions and passages, which are in either of the books of Kings or Chronicles, whether jointly or severally, are reduced into the body of one complete narration; secondly, they are digested into an orderly dependancy one upon the other; thirdly, many difficult places are cleared, and many seeming differences between the books of Kings and Chronicles compounded: and all this so contrived, as notwithstanding these mutual compositions of the books of Kings and Chronicles in this historical collection, yet the form of each of them is preserved entire, in such a manner as they may easily be read severally and distinctly, from first to last. Also there are three sundry kinds of tables: the first summarily declaring the several heads and chapters, into which this historical collection is divided; the second specifying what passages are related in the aforesaid books of Kings and Chronicles, and what are jointly related by them both, as also in what heads and chapters in the collection they may be found; the third shewing where every chapter of the texts themselves, and every part of them, may be very readily found in this collection.

N. There is an intention, and preparation making (if the times permit), to make a second piece in this kind, but to illustrate it in a more pleasant and profitable way and manner than this first work was done. The good Lord say Amen to it!

96. (3) THIRD WORK.

MONOTEΣΣAPON.

The actions, doctrines and other passages touching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as they are related by the Four Evangelists; harmonically, symmetrically, and collaterally placed, in four languages, English, Latin, French, Italian, reduced into one complete body of history; wherein that which is severally related by them is digested into order, and that which is jointly related by all or any of them is first extracted into one narration, by way of composition; secondly, brought into one clear context, by the way of collection: to which are, in all the pages of the book, added sundry of the best pictures that could be gotten, expressing the facts themselves, or their types, figures, or other matters appertaining thereunto; done at Little Gidding, anno 1640.

97. (4) FOURTH WORK.

The Gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, according to the holy Evangelists, in eight several languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, High Dutch, Saxon and Welsh, all interpreted with Latin or English, word for word, interlineally placed, and at one view to be seen and read; so done and contrived for the use and benefit of all such as are desirous with sureness, ease, speed and pleasure, to attain to the knowledge of these languages: likewise it may be of very good help to strangers that may desire to learn the English tongue.

98. (5) FIFTH WORK.

Novum Testamentum Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi viginti quatuor linguis expressum, vid.

1. Hebraice.
2. Græce.
3. Syriace.
4. Arabice.
5. Æthiopice.
6. Latine.
7. Anglo-Saxonice.
8. Muscovitice.
9. Cambro-Britannice.
10. Belgice.

11. Suedice.
12. Hibernice.
13. Germanice.
14. Polonice.
15. Danice.
16. Bohemice.
17. Hungarice.
18. Anglice.
19. Gallice.
20. Italice.
21. Hispanice.
22. Cantabrice.
23. Lusitanice.
24. Sclavonice.

Unaquæque lingua proprio suo charactere scripta, et omnes harmonice et symmetrice collocatæ, etiamque Syriaca literis et vocalibus Hebraicis scripta, cum interlineari Latina interpretatione insuper adjecta.

99. (6) SIXTH WORK.

Sacrosanctum S. Johannis Evangelium in totidem linguis quot sunt capita, vid.

| Caput | | Caput | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Æthiopice. | 12. | Germanice. |
| 2. | Græce. | 13. | Hungarice. |
| 3. | Syriace. | 14. | Gallice. |
| 4. | Arabice. | 15. | Italice. |
| 5. | Latine. | 16. | Hispanice. |
| 6. | Saxonice. | 17. | Suedice. |
| 7. | Hebraice. | 18. | Danice. |
| 8. | Anglice. | 19. | Polonice. |
| 9. | Cambro-Brittanice. | 20. | Belgice. |
| 10. | Bohemice. | 21. | Hibernice et Muscovitice. |
| 11. | Cantabrice. | | |

Et unaquæque lingua per interlinearem Latinam interpretationem ad verbum redditam et positam explicata.

*Some observations that happened upon these forenamed works, done at Gidding, and the acceptation of them by the king and prince.*

100. 1. Upon the first work.

His sacred majesty, anno 1631, having heard of some rare contrivements, as he was pleased to term them, of books done at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire, in an unusual way and manner, for their own private uses and employments; and that the younger sort learned them without book, and hourly made repetition of some part of them, that so both their hands and minds might be partakers in what was good and useful: it so happened that being at Apthorpe at the earl of Westmoreland's house, in his progress, about seven miles off Gidding; he sent a gentleman of his court, well loved of him, to Gidding; who came and declared, that the king his master desired that there might be sent by him a book, but he knew not the name of it, that was made at Gidding, and somewhat of it every hour repeated by them. The tidings were much unexpected, and Nicholas Ferrar at London. Leave was craved, that the deferring of the sending of it might be respited one week, and the king might be informed, that the book was wholly unfitting every way for a king's eye, and those that had given him any notice of such a thing had much misinformed his majesty; and when he should

see it, he would con them no thanks[1], the book being made only for the young people in the family. But all excuses would not satisfy this gentleman. He said if we enforced him to go without it, he knew he should be again sent for it that night; and no nays he would have. So necessity enforced the delivery; and the gentleman seemed greatly contented; took the book, saying not his man, but himself would carry it: he knew it would be an acceptable service to his master; and engaged his faith, that at the king's departure from Apthorpe, he would bring it again. But a quarter of a year past. Then came the gentleman again, but brought no book; but after much compliment said, the king so liked the work itself, and the contrivement of it in all kinds, that there had not a day passed, but the king, in the midst of all his progress and sports, spent one hour in the perusing of it: and that would apparently be seen by the notations he had made upon the margins of it with his own hand: and that his master would upon no terms part with it, except he brought him a promise from the family, that they would make him one for his daily use, which he should esteem as a rich jewel. Some months after the gentleman,

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[1] "So, 'Frend Hoggarde, *I cun you thanke,* that you have learned somewhat at Father Latimer's Sermons.'—Robert Crowley's *Confutation of the Aunswer to the Ballad, called 'The Abuse of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altare.'* Signat. A 3. b. A.D. 1548." *Dr. Wordsworth's note.*

acquainting the king what he had done in obedience to his command, brought back the book from London to Gidding; saying, that upon the condition that within the space of twelve months the king might have one made him, he was to render back that again; and so with many courtly terms he departed, with intimation from Nicholas Ferrar, that his majesty's commands should be obeyed.

101. The book being opened, there was found, as the gentleman had said, the king's notes in many places in the margin; which testified the king's diligent perusal of it. And in one place, which is not to be forgotten, to the eternal memory of his majesty's superlative humility (no small virtue in a king), having written something in one place, he puts it out again very neatly with his pen. But that, it seems, not contenting him, he vouchsafes to underwrite, *I confess my error: it was well before* (an example to all his subjects): *I was mistaken.*

102. Before the year came about, such diligence and expedition was used, that a book was presented to his majesty, being bound in crimson velvet and richly gilded upon the velvet, a thing not usual. The king graciously with a cheerful countenance received it: and after a curious perusal, after having asked many questions concerning the work, and the parties that had done it, said to the lord's grace of Canterbury, and divers other lords that stood about him (doctor Cosins being also there, that was his chaplain for that month), *Truly my*

*lords, I prize this as a rare and rich jewel, and worth a king's acceptance. The substance of it is of the best alloy in the world, and ought to be the only desirable book. And for the skill, care, cost, used in it, there is no defect, but a superlative diligence in all about it. I very much thank them all: and it shall be my* Vade mecum. *How happy a king were I, if I had many more such workmen and women in my kingdom! God's blessing on their hearts and painful hands! I know they will receive no reward for it.* Then he gave the book to the lords to peruse, saying, there are fine pictures in it. The lords said, they believed the like book was not in the world to be seen. It was a precious gem, and worthy of his cabinet.

103. Then said the king to my lord of Canterbury, and to doctor Cosins, *What think you? Will not these good people be willing that I put them to a further trouble? I find their ability and art is excellent: and why should I doubt of their condescension to my desire? Your majesty need not,* replied the archbishop; and doctor Cosins seconded him. *We know they will fulfil your commands in all things in their powers. Well,* said the king, *let me tell you. I often read the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is befitting a king: but in many things I find some seeming contradictions; and one book saith more, and the other less, in many circumstances the latter being a supply to the former. Now I seeing this judicious and well-contrived book of the Four Evangelists, I gladly would have these skilful*

*persons to make me another book that might so be ordered, that I might read these stories of Kings and Chronicles so interwoven by them, as if one pen had written the whole books; and to make it a complete history altogether: yet so again ordering the matter, that I may also read them severally and apart, if I would. I have often spoken to many of my chaplains about this thing; but they have excused themselves from it as a difficult work, and they not skilful in that way.—Let your majesty rest contented, and doubt not, but with the best expedition that can be, the thing shall be done as you intimate. Doctor Cosins shall acquaint them speedily with your majesty's pleasure.*

104. So intimation was given them at Gidding of this thing: and they with all care and diligence instantly set about it. And thus was this second work (as you see in the ensuing title), begun and finished in a year's time. And what happened in the presenting and acceptation of it, you shall find by the ensuing discourse that follows upon it.

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2. *The second work done at Little Gidding, whereof the title is as you see, was in the time of twelve months finished; and the proceedings that happened thereupon, here ensueth.*

105. The king's most excellent majesty having in the interim often demanded when the book would be done, saying the time seemed long unto him till he saw it: it being now sent up to London, my

lord of Canterbury understanding so much by Dr. Cosins[1] and one Mr. Ramsay, that had married one of the daughters of the family, he being a minister, desired it might be brought such a day to court. My lord took it, and perused it, and to admiration beheld it, saying, *Here is a masterpiece indeed in all kinds, inside and outside, all performed by those judicious heads and active hands of Little Gidding. Sure these, and the like works they intend, deserve to make it alter its name from* Parva *to* Magna. *Come,* said he, *let us go to the king, who, I am sure, will bid us welcome for this royal present.*

106. At their coming into the room where the king was, he seeing my lord of Canterbury to have a stately great book in his two hands, presently rose out of his chair where he was sitting, many lords then standing round about him: *What,* said he, *shall I now enjoy that rich jewel I have thus long desired? Have you, my lord, brought me my book? Yea, sir,* replied the bishop of Canterbury. *Give it me; give it me,* said the king. *Your expectations, sir,* said he, *are not only performed, but out of doubt many ways surpassed. For my own part, I wonder at the work, and all the parts of*

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[1] To this occasion must be referred an anecdote in Baker's MS. xxxv, 422. "When this last book was sent up, there was a letter sent up with it to Dr. Cosins. He shewing it to the king, his Majesty said, *It was one of the best he ever saw in its kind, which did character the master of it to be a man of rare parts every way.*"

*it. Let me have it;* said the king. So smiling he took it, and carried it to the table.

107. Then first seriously viewing the outside of the book, being bound curiously in purple velvet, and that also most artificially gilt upon the velvet in an extraordinary manner, he said, *My lords, the outside thus glorious, what think you will be the inside and matter of it?* Then untying the stately string, he opening it read the frontispiece and contents of the book: then turning to my lord of Canterbury, he said, *You have given me a right character of the work: truly it passeth what I could have wished, and what I think none but those heads and hands in my kingdom, can do the like again.* And so he began to view it leaf by leaf, and turned it all over very diligently, observing the form and contrivement of it. Then looking upon his lords, that had their eyes also fixed upon it, he said, *My lords, this, this is a jewel in all respects, to be continually worn on a king's breast, and in his heart.* And then he shewed them the fair orderly contrivement of the joint books of Kings and Chronicles, thus united together in one history, *as if written,* said he, *by one man's pen.* And so, many words passed about it, between the lords and the king, they extolling it as an excellent piece. *Well,* said the king, *I will not part with this diamond, for all those in my jewel-house. For it is so delightful to me, and I know the virtues of it will pass all the precious stones in the world. It is a most rare crystal glass, and most useful, and needful, and*

*profitable for me and all kings. It shews and represents to the life God's exceeding high and rich mercies to all pious and virtuous kings, and likewise his severe justice to all ill and bad. What then more profitable to us all, or more needful? It shall, I assure you, be my companion in the day time, and the sweetest perfumed bags that can lie under my head in the night. Truly I am very much taken with it at all times; but more, it being thus comprised in a full pleasant history. My lord of Canterbury, I now perceive that these good people at Gidding can do more works in this kind, than this. Let them have my hearty thanks returned. I know they look for none, neither will they receive any reward. Yet let them know, as occasion shall be, I will not forget them: and God bless them in their good intentions!* And so after some more talk the lords had of Gidding, the king took up the book, and went away with it in his arms.

108. Some while after, doctor Cosins gave notice, that the king, the more he perused both books given him, the more he liked them; and had conference with him about the printing of them, that, as he said, *all his people might have the benefit of them.* And doctor Cosins told the king, it was a kingly motion, and by his majesty's favour, they should be put out, as at his command, and the latter as done by his directions.

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109. N. It is to be known, that these works were so done as if they had been printed the ordi-

nary way; as most that saw them did think so. But it was in another kind done; though all was printed indeed, and not written, as some may conceive at the reading of the titles of the books.

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110. 3. The third work was occasioned and effected upon a letter sent to Gidding from a person of honour, that the prince, having seen the king his father's book, that was first of all presented him of the Concordance of the Four Evangelists, &c., would have fain begged it of the king; but he told him, he might not part with that rich jewel, for he daily made use of it; but if he desired one, he made no question, but the same heart and hands that framed his, would fit him also with one for his use; and hoped he would make good use of it, for it was the book of books, &c.

111. Upon the intimation given of the prince's desire, though Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, senior, was then with God, yet his young nephew, that bare his name, whom his uncle entirely loved (not permitting him to be anywhere brought up but at Gidding, and under his own eye), having seen all the former works done in the house; his beloved kinswomen, that were the handy-work-mistresses of the former, were also most willing to lay to their helping assistances; so the young youth, having attained to the knowledge of many languages (as you shall hear hereafter, being a study that his wise, judicious

uncle, Nicholas Ferrar, had put him upon, finding him every way fitted naturally for such knowledge), they laying their heads together, thought a concordance of four several languages would be most useful, and beneficial, and pleasant to the young prince's disposition; and so, in the name of God, after all materials were provided and ready, they uniting their heads and hands lovingly together, setting apart so many hours in the forenoons, and so many in the afternoons, as their other exercises and occasions permitted, constantly met in a long fair spacious room, which they named the concordance chamber, wherein were large tables round the sides of the walls, placed for their better conveniency and contrivement of their works of this and the like kind; and therein also were placed two very large and great presses, which were turned with iron bars, for the effecting of their designs.

112. And now we are in the concordance room, (which was all coloured over with green pleasant colour varnished, for the more pleasure to their eyes, and a chimney in it for more warmth, as occasion served), let me here relate, that each person of the family, and some other good friends of their kindred, gave each their sentence, which should be written round the upper part of the walls of the room; that so when they entered the chamber, or at any time looked up from the walls, these sentences presented themselves to their eyes. As you entered in at the door into the room, over your head at that end was written that sentence of

scripture[1], that their uncle, of blessed memory, did frequently use upon several occasions.

113. At the upper end was written high upon the wall:

*Glory be to God on high,*

*Peace on earth, good will toward men.*

*Prosper Thou, O Lord, the work of our hands.*

*O prosper Thou our handy works.*

And under it (on each side of that upper window), on the one side was written:

*Thou art too delicate, O brother, if thou desirest to reign both here with the world, and hereafter to reign with Christ in heaven.*

And on the other side of the window:

*Innocency is never better lodged than at the sign of Labour.*

And then on both sides of the walls there are written:

*Love not sleep, lest thou come to poverty.*

*Open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread.*

*He that spendeth his time—*

*Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings.*

*The industrious man hath no leisure to sin; and the idle man hath no power to avoid sin.*

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114. This third work thus finished, it was upon consultation thought fitting, that it should

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[1] Jebb, § 73.

not go single and alone, but to stay awhile till Nicholas Ferrar, junior, had finished and ordered four other pieces of works, being businesses of many and several languages, and the titles of them are those four succeeding frontispieces, that follow one after the other, as you have seen: the Four Evangelists, in such and such languages as is there described, written by his own hand, and so composed by his head and industry.

115. All these five pieces, that one for the prince, and four for the king, being all made ready, they were carried up to London; but in the way they went by Cambridge, and there were shewed to some eminent persons, a bishop then present there, and other learned scholars (and before that time also to the bishop of Peterborough, and other doctors, that there had sight of them). All these learned men gave their approbation to the works, and no small commendation, as well as admiration, that they were so contrived and ordered, for substance and form, by one of those tender years.

116. Nicholas Ferrar coming to London, as he had directions, addressed himself to my lord of Canterbury, from him to receive orders how to proceed. Who when he saw the young man, and was informed of his errand, by those that conducted him to his presence, the young man kneeling down, craving his blessing, and kissing his hand, my lord embraced him very lovingly, took him up, and after some salutes, he desired a sight of the books; which when he had well seen and perused,

he very highly commended them in every particular, and said, *These truly are jewels only for princes: and your printed one will greatly take the prince, to whom I perceive you intend it. So will the other four pieces be no less acceptable to the king himself; and so all things, the form, the matter, the writing, will make the king admire them, I know. And,* said he, *but that my eyes see the things, I should hardly have given credit to my ears, from any relation made of them by another. But,* said he, *I now find, great is education, when it meets with answerable ability, and had its directions from so eminent a man, as that counsellor was, that gave the hints and rise to all these contrivements before his death.* And after much discourse he gave Nicholas Ferrar leave to depart; and gave directions that next day in the afternoon, being Maundy Thursday, Nicholas Ferrar should be in such a room at White Hall.

117. The bishop came at the time he had appointed to that room, where he found Nicholas Ferrar and others waiting his leisure. And they perceived he came out of another room where the king then was. *Come,* said he, *in God's name, follow me, where I go;* and led them into a room, where the king stood by the fire, with many nobles attending him. When the king saw the archbishop enter the room, he said, *What, have you brought with you those rarities and jewels you told me of? Yea, sire,* replied the bishop, *here is the young gentleman, and his works.* So the bishop taking

him by the hand, led him up to the king. He falling down on his knees, the king gave him his hand to kiss, bidding him rise up. The box was opened; and Nicholas Ferrar first presented to the king that book made for the prince: who taking it from him, looking well on the outside, which was all green velvet, stately and richly gilt all over, with great broad strings, edged with gold lace, and curiously bound, said, *Here is a fine book for Charles indeed! I hope it will soon make him in love with what is within it: for I know it is good.* So opening it, and with much pleasure perusing it, he said merrily to the lords, *What think you of it? For my part, I like it in all respects exceeding well; and find Charles will here have a double benefit by the well contrivement of it, not only obtain by the daily reading in it a full information of our blessed Saviour's life, doctrine, and actions, (the chief foundation of Christian religion;) but the knowledge of four languages. A couple of better things a prince cannot desire, nor the world recommend unto him. And lo! here are also store of rare pictures to delight his eye with.*

118. Then Nicholas Ferrar, the king looking upon him, bowing himself to the ground, said, *May it please your sacred majesty, this work was undertaken upon the prince's command. But I dared not present it to him, till it had your majesty's approbation and allowance. Why so?* said the king; *it is an excellent thing for him, and will do him much good. Sir,* said Nicholas Ferrar, *my*

*learned and religious wise uncle, under whose wings I was covered and had my education from my youth, gave me amongst other rules, this one; that I should never give anything, though never so good or fitting, to any person whatever, that had a superior over him, without his consent and approbation first obtained: as nothing to a son, to a wife, to a servant: for he said it was not seemly nor comely so to do. Whereupon, sir, I have by the favour of my lord of Canterbury's grace come to present this piece unto your majesty's view, and to beg your good leave to carry it to the prince.* The king with attention heard all, and turning him to the lords, said, *You all hear this wise counsel, and you all see the practice of it. I do assure you, it doth wonderfully please me. I like the rule well: and it is worthy of all our practice. And now you see we all have gained by the sight of this rich jewel a third good thing.* Then turning him to the lord of Canterbury, he said, *Let this young gentleman have your letters to the prince to-morrow, to Richmond, and let him carry this present. It is a good day you know, and a good work would be done upon it.* So he gave Nicholas Ferrar the book: who carrying it to the box, took out of it a very large paper book, which was the fourth work, and laid it on the table before the king. *For whom,* said the king, *is this model? For your majesty's eyes, if you please to honour it so much. And that I will gladly do,* said the king, *and never be weary of such sights, as I know you will offer unto me.*

119. The king having well perused the title page, beginning, *The Gospel of our Lord and Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, in eight several languages, &c.* said unto the lords, *You all see, that one good thing produceth another. Here we have more and more rarities, from print now to pen. These are fair hands well written, and as well composed.* Then replied the lord of Canterbury, *When your majesty hath seen all, you will have more and more cause to admire. What!* said the king, *is it possible we shall behold yet more rarities? Then,* said the bishop to Nicholas Ferrar, *reach the other piece that is in the box:* and this we call the fifth work, the title being, *Novum Testamentum &c. in viginti quatuor linguis, &c.* The king opening the book said, *Better and better. This is the largest and fairest paper that ever I saw.* Then, reading the title page, he said, *What is this? What have we here? The incomparablest book this will be, as ever eye beheld. My lords, come, look well upon it. This finished must be the emperor of all books. It is the crown of all works. It is an admirable masterpiece. The world cannot match it. I believe you are all of my opinion.* The lords all seconded the king, and each spake his mind of it. *I observe two things amongst others,* said the king, *very remarkable, if not admirable. The first is, how it is possible, that a young man of twenty-one years of age,* (for he had asked the lord of Canterbury before, how old Nicholas Ferrar was) *should ever attain to the understanding and knowledge of more languages,*

*than he is of years; and to have the courage to venture upon such an Atlas work, or Hercules labour. The other is also of high commendation, to see him write so many several languages, so well as these are, each in its proper character. Sure so few years had been well spent, some men might think, to have attained only to the writing thus fairly of these twenty-four languages.* All the lords replied, his majesty had judged right; and said, except they had seen, as they did, the young gentleman there, and the book itself, all the world should not have persuaded them to the belief of it. And so much discourse passed upon the business to and fro, and many questions demanded and answered, here too long to repeat.

120. *Well,* said the king to my lord of Canterbury, *there is one thing yet that I would be fully satisfied in, and see the proof and real demonstration of it, over and above what I have yet seen. I do really believe and know, that these persons here would not present this unto me, or anything else, that were not full of truth. I say, I no way doubt of all I have seen: yet if I may be resolved in one question that I shall demand, it will wonderfully please me. The thing, my lord, is this. Let me, if it be possible, have more than this affirmation, by word and pen thus shewed me, that he understands all these several languages, and can English them, word for word, properly. I know yourself, my lord, and many other men in my court, can try and prove him in many of them: but where shall*

*I find men to try and pose him in all the others, that are so unusual and scarce known?* My lord of Canterbury, being somewhat at a stand, replied, *Sir, you need not be so scrupulous, but be confident that he can and doth understand all of them:* and then looking upon Nicholas Ferrar, to see what he could say for himself in this kind; who all the while stood silent attending the end and upshot of the king's demands; then bowing himself to the ground at his majesty's feet, he spake in this manner and effect. *May it please your sacred majesty, the difficulty you in your great wisdom have propounded so judiciously, to have a present proof given you, that I understand all these several twenty-four languages, and can translate them into Eglish or Latin, is that which I conceived your majesty would put me upon, when you should see that which you have done; and to that intent I now brought with me, what will and may fully satisfy your majesty, as it was my part to do, and to prepare for it in that kind, as you require. Let us then now see it,* said the king. Now you are to know that this proof book Nicholas Ferrar had of purpose concealed it from my lord of Canterbury, not shewing it him, when he at first saw the rest of them. So Nicholas Ferrar presently stepped to the box, it being covered under papers at the bottom of it, and came and gave it into the king's hands. The king opening it, and smiling, reading the title page of it, which was this, *Sacrosanctum Sancti Johannis Evangelium, in totidem linguis quot sunt capita, &c. I*

*now see I shall be fully contented;* and so turning the book all over, leaf by leaf, and perusing it, seeing each chapter interpreted in each language, word for word with English or Latin, he called my lord of Canterbury to the table, who all this while stood somewhat in doubt, what this proof would be; *Lo! here is an ample proof and manifestation, wittily contrived; and I am fully satisfied in all things. He could never have done this, but that he is a master of them all. And I am the more glad I raised the doubt; but much more that he hath thus undeniably made a full proof of his rare abilities in every kind. What say you to it, my lord?* Who replied, it was far beyond what he should have thought of; and was right glad to see it. So many questions were asked and answered to the king's good liking. The king turning to the rest of the lords, who also took the book and were admiring at it, and spake of it in no small way of commendation, said, *We have spent part of our Maundy Thursday*[1] *to good purpose, have we not, my lords, think you?* They all replied, they had seen those good things and rarities, that they never did before, nor should see the like, they believed, again for the future. *It is very rightly said,* said the king. So looking upon Nicholas Ferrar, he willed him, that he should go the next morning to Richmond, and carry the prince the book made for him. *And after the holiday,* said he, *return to*

[1] April 2, 1640.

*my lord of Canterbury; and then you shall know my good approbation of yourself and all you have done; and he shall signify to you my will and pleasure, what I will have you to do, and where you are to go.*

121. So dismissing him with a cheerful royal look, the king said to my lord of Canterbury, *Alas! what pity is it, that this youth hath not his speech altogether so ready as his pen and great understanding is.* For the king had observed, that sometimes at the first bringing out his words he would make a small pause; but once having begun, he spake readily and roundly, as other men did. *Sir*, said my lord of Canterbury, *I conceive that small impediment in his tongue hath been very happy for him. How can you, my lord, make that good? Sir*, said he, *out of doubt, the small defect in that one tongue hath gained, by the directions of that learned and wise uncle of his, that directed him to the study of all these languages (as finding his great abilities of wit, memory, and industry), the attaining of them, and producing these and the like rare works, that you see, done by him to admiration. So oftentimes God, in His great wisdom and love, turns those things, we account our prejudice, to our greatest happiness, if with pleasure and cheerfulness we undergo them, and to His own further glory. So that neither he nor his parents have cause to grieve at that small defect he hath in his one tongue, that by it hath gained so many more, that make him more eminent, than that one could*

*have done. For certainly, sir, so many other abilities that are united in the young man had taken and put him upon some other studies, than this of languages, if this small imperfection had not accompanied it: and instead of one mother tongue, he hath gained twenty-four; a full recompense I take it to be. Well,* said the king, *you have somewhat to the purpose, my lord.* Then said my lord of Holland, *He should do well to carry always in his mouth some small pebble stones, that would help him much. Nay, nay,* said the king, *I have tried that*[1], *but it helps not. I will tell him the best and surest way is to take good deliberation at first, and not to be too sudden in speech. And let him also learn to sing, that will do well.* Then said one of the lords to Nicholas Ferrar, *Do you not learn to sing, and music also?* He replied, he did. So humble reverence done, Nicholas Ferrar going away, my lord of Canterbury stepped to Nicholas Ferrar and told him, he must not fail to come to Lambeth, and

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[1] On Charles's imperfect utterance see Dr. Wordsworth's note. Add from *Merc. Brit.* 785 (No. 87): "Henceforth then (perhaps) he will be able to *speake* plaine to his Parliament, and not brand them any more with that *S'tammering, crooked, wry-mouth'd Slaunder* of *Rebels.*" Cf. *ibid.* 825 (No. 92). Williams gave offence (in his funeral sermon) by dwelling at length on king James's eloquence, in "expressions which might be forborne in the presence of his son and successor, whose impediment in speech was known to be great, and mistook to be greater."—Fuller, vi. 12. See also Hacket, i. 223.

call for his letter in the morning, for bishop Duppa, the prince's tutor.

122. This was done next morning; and so in a coach with four horses Nicholas Ferrar went to Richmond, with some other company of his friends. Coming to Richmond, the bishop's secretary acquainted his lord of a letter sent to him by the lord of Canterbury. The bishop was then with the prince, who coming from him, Nicholas Ferrar delivered him the letter. The contents read, he embraced Nicholas Ferrar, who kneeled down to crave his blessing and kiss his hands. Nicholas Ferrar was called for to come in to the prince, who gave him his hand to kiss. He presented the book unto him. The prince hastily opened it, saying, *Here's a gallant outside:* gave it then to the bishop: he read the title page and frontispiece. Then the prince took it, and turning it all over, leaf by leaf, said, *Better and better.* The courtiers that stood about him, demanded how he liked that rare piece. *Well, well, very,* said he. *It pleaseth me exceedingly; and I wish daily to read in it.* So many questions were asked and answered. And the little duke of York, having also seen the book, and fine pictures in it, came to Nicholas Ferrar, and said unto him, *Will you not make me also such another fine book? I pray you do it.* Nicholas Ferrar replied, his grace should not fail to have one made for him also. But said the duke, *How long will it be before I have it? With all good speed,* said Nicholas Ferrar. *But how long time will that be? I pray*

*tell the gentlewomen at Gidding I will heartily thank them, if they will dispatch it.* (For he had heard Nicholas Ferrar tell the prince, who questioned with him, who bound the book so finely, and made it so neatly and stately, and had laid on all the pictures so curiously; that it was done by the art and hands of his kinswomen at Gidding.) All the courtiers standing by heartily laughed to see the duke's earnestness, who would have no nay; but a promise speedily to have one made for him[1], like his brother's. The prince at last went to dinner, expressing much joy at his book.

123. The bishop took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and with great demonstration of favour led him into a room, where divers young lords were, the duke of Buckingham and others, who sitting down to dinner, the bishop placed Nicholas Ferrar by the table at his side. The bishop demanded many questions at table concerning Gidding, to which he received satisfaction; saying, my lord of Canterbury's letters had informed him of what had passed before the king at White Hall; and of the rare pieces which were shewed the king, whereof he said he hoped one day to have the happiness to see them; and said, *This present given the prince was very acceptable, and he made no question but*

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[1] In the margin it is added, "The book which was made and printed for the duke never had opportunity to be presented to his grace. It is yet still at Gidding."

*the prince would receive not only much pleasure in it, but great good by it in every kind.*

124. After dinner ended, and other courtiers come to talk with Nicholas Ferrar, the bishop departed the room, and not long after came in again; took Nicholas Ferrar by the hand, and carried him into a room, where the prince was, the duke, and divers court ladies looking upon the book. The bishop after a while told the prince what books were presented to the king his father, at White Hall. The prince demanded to see them also: but the bishop said they were left there. *Ah*, said he, *I would you had brought them, that I might also have seen those rare things.* So after many questions demanded and answered, it growing late, Nicholas Ferrar craved leave to depart; and humbly bowing himself to the prince, the prince rose up, and came towards him, and moving his hat, the bishop standing by him, said, *I am much beholden to you, for the jewel you have given me, and for the contrivement of it; and to the Gidding gentlewomen, that have taken so much pains about it, to make it so curious a piece.* Then putting his hand into his pocket, he pulled out a handful of twenty shilling pieces of gold, saying, (Nicholas Ferrar stepping back), *Nay, I do not give you this as any reward in recompense of your book, for I esteem it every way above much gold; and prize it at a far greater rate. Only you shall take this as a present testimony of my acceptance of it, and my esteem of you. I shall study how I may in the future let all know*

*how much I deem of your worth, and the book:* and so gave him his handful of gold. And so Nicholas Ferrar departing, divers courtiers would needs accompany him to his coach, and the bishop down stairs. And so, with great demonstration of much civility they parted, the bishop willing his secretary to accompany him to the coach.

125. Saturday morning repair was made to the bishop of Canterbury, to let him know what had passed at Richmond; for so he had given order: who said he much longed to know what entertainment was given to the book and person. He liked all well that passed, and said he was right glad, that things went as he hoped; and should acquaint the king with all. Then taking Nicholas Ferrar's father aside, he said, *Let your care now cease for your hopeful son, or for his future preferment, or estate, or present maintenance. God hath so inclined the king's heart, and his liking to your son, and the gifts God hath indued him with; and having been informed of his virtuous, pious education, and singular industry and Christian deportment, and of his sober inclination, that he will take him from you into his own protection and care, and make him his scholar and servant; and hath given me order, that after the holidays being past I should send him to Oxford; and that there he shall be maintained in all things needful for him at the king's proper charge; and shall not need what he can desire, to further him in the prosecution of these works he hath begun in matter of languages: and what help of books, or*

*heads, or hands he shall require, he shall not be unfurnished with; for the king would have this work of the New Testament, in twenty-four languages, to be accomplished by his care and assistance; and to have the help of all the learned men that can be had, to that end. Assure yourself he shall want nothing. In a word the king is greatly in love with him: and you will, and have cause to bless and praise God for such a son.* So John Ferrar being ravished with joy, in all humble manner gave thanks to my lord's grace. And they returning to Nicholas Ferrar, my lord embraced him, and gave him his benediction. Nicholas Ferrar kneeling down, took the bishop by the hand, and kissed it. He took him up in his arms, and laid his hand to his cheek, and earnestly besought God Almighty to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him every day more and more for an instrument of His glory here upon earth, and a saint in heaven; *which,* said he, *is the only happiness that can be desired, and ought to be our chief end in all our actions. God bless you! God bless you! I have told your father, what is to be done for you, after the holidays. God will provide for you, better than your father can:—God bless you! and keep you!* So they parted from his grace.

126. But he never saw him more; for within a few days after[1], Nicholas Ferrar fell ill: and on

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[1] "Easter-Eve." Margin of the manuscript.

Easter day[1] he was desirous, being next morning (having found himself not well the day before), to receive the communion at Paul's, whither he went early in the morning, and communicated; and returning home, had little appetite to his dinner, eating little or nothing. He went yet to a sermon in the afternoon; but at night grew somewhat worse. And on Monday morning his father with all care and diligence went to a learned physician, who came and visited him, and gave him what he thought fitting; but he grew worse and worse. Then was another physician joined to the first. They consulted, and prescribed things for him, but he mended not; but with great patience and cheerfulness did bear his sickness, and was very comfortable in it to all that came to visit him, wholly referring himself to God's good will and pleasure; only telling his friends, and the bishop of Peterborough, doctor Towers, that loved him dearly, and came to visit him twice in that short time, that he was no way troubled to die, and to go to heaven, where he knew was only peace and quiet and joys permanent, whereas all things in the world were but trouble and vexation: and death must be the end of all men; and he that went soonest to heaven was the happiest man. The bishop would say, when he went away, and had a long time talked with him, that Nicholas Ferrar was

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[1] April 5.

better prepared to die than he, and was a true child of God, and could comfort himself in God, without directions from him, or others: that his pious education under his pious uncle of blessed memory, his old and dear friend, was now shewed forth in these his so young years, that they had taken mighty root downward, and in his soul, and now sprang up with not only leaves and fair blossoms, but with good and ripe fruit of heavenly matters. It joyed his heart to see him so disposed to God-ward, and to so willingly leave the world, and the late testimonies of worth, that he had received from the best in the land. That sure he was too good longer to stay here. God would take him to heaven; and willed his father to prepare for his departure, and to take it with all thankfulness to God; and not look what himself he might think had here lost on earth, but to that crown which his good son, by the mercies of God, and merits of his Saviour, he was persuaded would soon enjoy in heaven. *He is too good; he is too good,* said he, *to live longer in these ill approaching times. For there is much fear now that the glory of church and state is at the highest.* For then tumults began: and the bishop of Canterbury's house at Lambeth[1] was one night assaulted

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[1] "In the church-warden's accounts of the parish of Lambeth in this year, 1640, is the following entry:

'May 8th, Paide for trayning when the mutinie was in Lambeth againest the archbishopp, £1.'"—*Dr. Wordsworth's note.*

by a rabble of lewd people; which when Nicholas Ferrar was told one morning, as he lay in his sick bed, *Alas! alas!* said he, *God help His church, and poor England! I now fear indeed, what my dear uncle said before he died is at hand, that evil days were coming, and happy were they that went to heaven before they came. Can or will the insolency of such a rabble be unpunished? It is high time that supreme authority take care of these growing evils. God amend all! Truly, truly, it troubles me.* And when at other times some friend would say to him, *Good cousin, are you not grieved to leave this world; you are now so young, and in the flower of your youth and hopes?* He would cheerfully answer, *No, truly; I leave all to God's good will and pleasure, that is my best father, and knoweth what is best for me. Alas! I am too young to be mine own judge, what is best for me, to die or live; but let all be, as God's will is. If I live, I desire it may be to His further glory, and mine own soul's good, and the comfort and service, that I intend to be to my father, that loves me so dearly, and in his old age to be his servant. If I die, I hope my father will submit all to God's will and pleasure, and rejoice at my happiness in heaven, where by the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour, I know I shall go out of this wretched life.* In this manner, and upon the visits of friends, he would discourse; and the bishop came to him two days before he died, and found him most cheerful to die and to be with God, as he would say to him; who gave him

absolution, and with many tears departed, saying to his father, *God give you consolation; and prepare yourself to part with your good son. He will, in a few hours, I think, go to a better world: for he is no way for this, that I see, by his body and by his soul. Be of good comfort; you give him but again to Him, that gave him you for a season.* And in two days after, God took him away; who died praying and calling upon God, *Lord Jesus, receive my soul! Lord, receive it!* Amen.

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127. This following epitaph will more at large inform the reader concerning Nicholas Ferrar junior, his life and death, briefly thus expressed by a friend of his, Mr. Mark Frank[1], once fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

Lector,
quisquis es
quem { vel sortis humanæ / vel elusæ spei / vel ereptæ virtutis } miseret,
Siste te paulum ad hoc lachrymarum monumentum,
Sepulchrum Nicolai
generosæ Ferrarorum familiæ hæredis;

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[1] Peckard, probably on the authority of Sancroft's note (*I think by Mr. Crashaw,* Hearne, *Caii Vind.* 810), assigns the composition to Crashaw. The copy in the text (agreeing with Baker's MS. xxxv. 431) differs from Hearne's only in reading *abstinentia* for *temperantia.*

piissimi illius Nicolai,
quem ipse orbis admiratur
tanquam unicum integræ virtutis domicilium,
charissimi nepotis:
Londini, si patriam quæris, oriundi,
Geddingæ Parvæ, juxta Venantodunum, educati.
Juvenis nimirum
qui, inter privatas illas solitudines,
stupenda sua indole actus
Ipsum sibi Academiam habuit.
Qui ad vicesimam tertiam linguam
vix tutorem habuit, vix indiguit,
vix annos petiit;
Et tamen annorum numerum linguis duabus
superavit:
Ingenio quam annis major.

Cui { Grammatica, Necessitati,
Historia, Otio,
Philosophia, Studio,
Mathematica, Voluptati,
Musica, Pietati,
Theologia, Praxi, } fuit.

Qui
eleganti, admiranda potius, industria
in sacris concinnandis Harmoniis
(quibus ne verbum aut superesse
aut deesse Evangelistis ostenditur)
Regi et Aulæ cognitus
et doctrinæ simul et religionis specimen dedit.

Qui { Precibus
Jejuniis
Vigiliis } crebris,
Abstinentia perpetua
vel a primo decennio Deo inserviit
familiæ suæ et exemplum, et solatium pietatis;
summæ erga parentes obedientiæ,

singularis erga amicos amicitiæ,
eximiæ erga omnes humanitatis,
profusæ erga pauperes benignitatis,
Verbis, Veste, Vita, sobrius, modestus, humillimus,
Qui in omnibus { Parentum Vota / Amicorum Spem / Omnium Fidem } longe post se reliquit.
Nec hic stetit;
dum majora adhuc anhelans
nullum studiis suis statuerat
nisi Universæ Naturæ terminum.
Sed Natura præpropere terminum posuit,
ne deesset tandem velocissimo ingenio
quod evolveret.
Libentissime hic assensit,
ut mens nondum satiata scientiis
inveniret in Deo quod in terris non potuit.
Inde est
amicorum dolori, reipublicæ literariæ damno,
spei humanæ confusioni, gloriæ tamen suæ
quod hinc abiit
vel ad Doctorum vel Virginum Chorum,
Anno
Regis Caroli XVI°.
Ætatis suæ XXI°.
Christi MDCXL°.
Die Maii XIX°.

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128. There was found amongst other papers in his study this following; in this manner, that all might be printed in one book together, at one view to be seen, in two pages of the book, as it opened, twenty-five on one side, twenty-five on the other.

Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi
Testamentum,
Lingua

1. Hebraica.
2. Syriaca.
3. Arabica.
4. Chaldaica.
5. Æthiopica.
6. Samaritanica.
7. Armenica.
8. Cophtica.
9. Sclavonica.
10. Moscovitica.
11. Græca.
12. Latina.
13. Cambro-Britannica.
14. Hibernica.
15. Monica.
16. Hungarica.
17. Cantabrica.
18. Cauchica.
19. Wallaccica.
20. Rhætica.
21. Islandica.
22. Swedica.
23. Finennica.
24. Livonica.
25. Germanica.
26. Anglica.
27. Saxonica.
28. Italica.
29. Gallica.
30. Hispanica.
31. Belgica.
32. Gothica.
33. Vandalica.
34. Estonica.
35. Prutenica.
36. Jazigica.
37. Illyrica.
38. Epirotica.
39. Persica.
40. Georgiana.
41. Turcica.
42. Tartarica.
43. Jacobitica.
44. Indica orientali.
45. Japonica.
46. Danica.
47. Polonica.
48. Bohemica.
49. Lusatica.
50. Indica occidentali vel America.

This by the help of God I intend to effect: and also to translate the Church Catechism into these languages; so likewise the 117 Psalm, "Praise the Lord, all ye heathens: praise Him, all ye nations," and present them to the king, that he may print them, and send them to all nations, &c.

129. (7) SEVENTH WORK.

The whole law of God, as it is delivered in the five books of Moses, methodically distributed into three great classes, moral, ceremonial, political; and each of these again subdivided into several heads as the variety of matter requires; wherein each particular subject dispersedly related in the forenamed books, is reduced to the proper head and place whereunto it belongeth. Containing in all three hundred thirty-three heads: also every head of the political law is reduced to that precept of the moral law, to which it properly belongs: likewise there are sundry treatises, shewing in what, and how, divers of the ceremonial laws were shadows and types of the Messiah that was to come. And also in what Adam, Abel, Noah, Abram, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, David, Solomon and his Temple, Elisha, Job, Daniel, Jonah, the pillar fire, the Red Sea, the rock, and manna, were all figures of our Lord and blessed Saviour J. Christ.

With an harmony of all the prophets, foretelling the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ that was to come; to confirm the Christian and convince the Jew: together with a discourse of the twelve stones in Aaron's pectoral, their several virtues, &c.

As also an harmonical parallel between the types of the O. Testament, and the four evangelists' relations concerning our dear Lord and Saviour, respectively prefigured by the holy prophets and other sacred writers. Moreover there are divers treatises shewing how, and in what manner, times and places, the several promises and threatenings, foretold by Moses, did accordingly befal the Jews: with the fulfilling also of our Saviour's prophecy in the destruction of their city and temple, and the desolation of the land of Jewry: with the miseries which the Jews have sustained under many nations, and in particular here in England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. and their strange dispositions, and God's judgement on them to this day.

All to testify the truth of the Divine Oracles.

This work is also set forth with abundance of pictures, the better to express the stories and contents of it.

This precedent work, called the seventh piece, was also contrived in Nicholas Ferrar's lifetime, and a draught of it made, though not altogether[1] with the additions and annexations to it: but was after his death contrived fully, as in the manner before set down, and made for the prince's use, to be presented to him, by the advice of some judicious and learned friends, that held it a work worthy of his acceptance, and might be both of pleasure and contentment, and useful to him in many kinds.

130. It so happened that in the year 1642 the troubles in this land began to grow to height; and the king and prince were forced by the disorders at London to repair to York. And the king lodging with the prince and some other nobility at Huntingdon one night, the next day afternoon it was his gracious pleasure to come and honour Little Gidding with his royal presence, the prince attending him, the palsgrave, the duke of Lenox, and divers other nobles; and where his majesty staid some hours.

131. First he went to view the chapel, and was pleased to express his good liking of it, saying, it

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[1] "But in his lifetime, he gave one in this kind to the bishop of Canterbury, containing only that first part of the *whole Law of God*. This the bishop sent to the university library of Oxford, where there it is to be now seen, bound up, and so done by the hands of the virgins of Gidding, in green velvet, fairly bound and gilt."—*Marginal note in the MS.*

was a fine neat thing. *But*, said he, *where are those images, &c. so much talked of?* Answer was made, *Such as his majesty now beheld it, was all that ever was there seen, or in it.* He smiling said to the duke and palsgrave, *I knew it full well, that never any were in it. But what will not malice invent?* One lord said, *It was affirmed to me, that there was a cross in one of the windows in painted glass.* Answer was made, *Never any, but that, if so they meant it, that was upon the crown, that there was placed upon the lion's head, that did, in the west window at the entry into the church over the door, stand, where the king's arms were placed in painted glass, and the lion that supported the arms had on the crown he wore on his head a little cross, as was ever used in the king's arms and supporters: and this was all the crosses that ever were seen in Gidding church; or any other painted glass or pictures.* The king looking up upon it, said, *What strange reports are in the world!* So the prince, palsgrave and duke all smiled; and the duke said, *Envy was quick-sighted.—Nay*, said the palsgrave, *can see what is not.*

132. Then the king was pleased to go into the house, and demanded where the great book was that he had heard was made for Charles's use. It was soon brought unto him; and the largeness and weight of it was such, that he that carried it seemed to be well laden. Which the duke observing, said, *Sir, one of your strongest guard will but be able to carry this book.* It being laid on the table before

the king, it was told him, that though it were then fairly bound up in purple velvet, that the outside was not fully finished, as it should be, for the prince's use and better liking. *Well,* said the king, *it is very well done.* So he opened the book, the prince standing at the table's end, and the palsgrave and duke on each side of the king. The king read the title page and frontispiece all over very deliberately: and well viewing the form of it, and how adorned with a stately garnish of pictures, &c. and the curiousness of the writing of it, said, *Charles, here is a book that contains excellent things. This will make you both wise and good.* Then he proceeded to turn it over leaf by leaf, and took exact notice of all in it: and it being full of pictures of sundry men's cuts, he could tell the palsgrave, who seemed also to be knowing in that kind[1], that this and this, and that and that, were

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[1] "It is a trite observation, that gunpowder was discovered by a monk, and printing by a soldier. It is an additional honour to the latter profession *to have invented mezzotinto*... Born with the taste of an uncle, whom his sword was not fortunate in defending, *prince Rupert* was fond of those sciences which soften and adorn a hero's private hours; and knew how to mix them with his minutes of amusement, without dedicating his life to their pursuit, like us, who, wanting capacity for momentous views, make serious study of what is only the transitory occupation of a genius. Had the court of the first Charles been peaceful, how agreeably had the prince's congenial prosperity flattered and confirmed the inclination of his *uncle!* How the muse of arts would have repaid the

of such a man's graving and invention. The prince all the while greatly eyed all things, and seemed much to be pleased with the book. The king having spent some hours in the perusal of it, and demanding many questions, as occasion was, concerning the contrivement of it, having received answers to all he demanded, at length said, *It was only a jewel for a prince: and hoped Charles would make good use of it. And I see and find by what I have myself received formerly from this good house, that they go on daily in the prosecution of these excellent pieces. They are brave employments of their time.* The palsgrave said to the prince, *Sir, your father the king is master of the goodliest ship in the world; and I may now say, you will be master of the gallantest greatest book in the world. For I never saw such paper before, and believe there is no book of this largeness to be seen in Christendom. The paper and the book in all conditions,* said the king, *I believe is not to be matched. Here hath also in this book not wanted, you see, skill, care, nor cost. It is a most admirable piece,* replied the duke of Richmond. So the king closing the book, said, *Charles, this is yours.* He replied, *But, sir, shall I not now have it with me?* Reply was made by one of the family, *If it please your highness, the book is not*

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patronage of the monarch, when for his first artist she would have presented him with his *nephew!*"—Horace Walpole's *Catalogue of Engravers*, &c. (edit. 1786), 133–5. (Cited by Dr. Wordsworth.)

*on the outside so finished as it is intended for you; but shall be with all expedition done, and you shall have it. Well,* said the king, *you must content yourself for a while.*

133. The palsgrave, who had left the king discoursing, had stepped into the other room by, and there seen the poor alms-widows' rooms, which were built for them. He then comes to the king, saying, *Sir, you shall, if you please to go with me, see another good thing, that will like you well.* So the king and prince followed him, and the duke. So being come into the widows' rooms, which were handsomely wainscotted, and four beds in them, after the Dutch manner of their alms-houses, all along the walls, the room being rubbed and cleanly kept, the king looking well about him, and upon all things said, *Truly this is worth the sight. I did not think to have seen a thing in this kind, that so well pleaseth me. God's blessing be upon the founders of it! Time was,* speaking to the palsgrave, *that you would have thought such a lodging not amiss. Yea, sir,* said he, *and happy I had had it full often.* So some questions the king asked about the widows, &c. and going out of the room into a long arbour in the garden, the duke following him, he put his hand into his pocket, and took out of it five pieces in gold, saying to the duke, *Let these be given to the poor widows. It is all I have, else they should have more;* (these he had won the night before of the palsgrave at cards at Huntingdon) *and will them to pray for me.*

134. While the king was walking and talking and commending the fine and pleasant situation of the house upon a little hill, which it stood upon, to divers about him, saying, *Gidding is a happy place in many respects; I am glad I have seen it:* the young lords had gone into the buttery, and there found apple-pies and cheese-cakes, and came out with pieces in their hands into the parlour, to the prince, and merrily said, *Sir, will your highness taste? it is a good apple-pie as ever we eat.* The prince laughed heartily at them: so wine was brought. The king came in, saying, *It grows late: the sun is going down: we must away.* So their horses were brought to the door. The king mounting, those of the family, men and women, all kneeled down, and heartily prayed God to bless and defend him from his enemies, and give him a long and happy reign. He lifting up his hand to his hat, replied, *Pray, pray for my speedy and safe return again.* So the prince also took horse, and away they went.

135. And as the king rode through the grounds, he espied a hare sitting, and then called to the duke for his piece, which he carried; and as he sat on horse-back killed the hare; but not so dead, but she ran a little way. But the prince, seeing her rise up, skipped off his horse, and ran after her, through two or three furrows of water, and caught her, and laughing shewed her to the king. And away they went: but it was late before they got to Stamford that night.

136. I had forgot to relate, that the king, a mile before he came at the house, seeing it stand upon a hill, demanded of sir Capel Beedells, who then waited upon him, and sir Richard Stone, the high sheriff, whom he knighted the evening before, when he came into Huntingdon, what house that was that stood so pleasantly. They told him, Little Gidding. *Is that it? I must go and visit it. Doth not our way lie beneath it?* They said, *Aye.* Those of the family of Little Gidding out of their windows seeing the king's company afar off, coming that way, they all went down the hill, to the end of the lordship, and at the bridge attended the king's coming that way, as most desirous to see him and to kiss his hands. When the king came near them, he asked sir Capel who those people were? He said the Ferrars' and Colletts' family that dwelt at Gidding. So the king approaching foremost of all, they went all to meet him; and kneeling down prayed God to bless and preserve his majesty, and keep him safe from all his enemies' malice. The king gave them all, as they passed by, his hand to kiss. The prince seeing that, came galloping up, and did the like. Some of them went to kiss the palsgrave's hand, but he refused. But turning to the duke, and the other young lords, he said, *These ladies will not so soon get up the hill again. Come, let us take them up behind us.* And so he came to persuade them. But they excused themselves, and made haste up the hill. The king rode on purpose a foot pace up the hill, talking with sir Capel and Mr.

Hill, and demanding many questions. And this is what then happened at the presenting of this book, which ever since hath been preserved at Gidding, and attends the happy hour to be delivered into the right owner's hand; which God Almighty grant in His due time! Amen, Amen, Amen.

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137. *Nicholas Ferrar, in a paper found in his study, thus writes in it:—*

"The king of England (he would say) had more several languages spoken by the subjects of his dominions than any king in Christendom, and therefore deserved to have a Bible of many languages, above other princes.

"There are twelve spoken in his dominions.

"1. English, spoken in England, and a good part of Scotland: those, I mean, that lie next to England. It is chiefly compounded of the Saxon, French, and Latin.

"2. Scottish, spoken more northerly in Scotland. It retains more of the old Saxon, and is not mingled with so many French words, as English is. Bishop Douglas translated Virgil into this dialect.

"3. Welsh, spoken in Wales.

"4. Cornish, spoken in Cornwall. It is a dialect of the Welsh, but very various.

"5. Irish, spoken in Ireland.

"6. Scot-Irish, a dialect of Irish; and is spoken in the Hebrides, islands lying on the West of Scotland.

"7. Hethyan. Hethy is an island of the Orcades, in which is spoken a language which is a dialect of the Gothish or Norwegian.

"8. There is in Pembrokeshire in Wales, a country called Little England beyond Wales. They use a language compounded of the Dutch and Welsh.

"9. In the islands of Guernsey and Jersey they speak a corrupt kind of French, somewhat like the Walloon, which the Belgæ *qui non teutonizant* speak.

"10. In the famous Isle of Man is spoken a language that is compounded of Welsh, Irish, Norwegian, but most Irish words.

"This island deserves, and the people of it, a perpetual memorial, for many excellent things in it: which I cannot but thus briefly touch, in regard that my learned and pious uncle Nicholas Ferrar, of blessed memory, who had seen many parts of the world, would highly commend it, as a happy place to live in. For he would say, it were to be wished, and happy it were for England, that the same manner for law were here used, being a speedy and right way of justice, the soul of a kingdom, &c. That there were no beggars found in that island: that the inhabitants were most honest and religious, loving their pastors, to whom they use much reverence and respect; they frequenting duly divine service, without division in the church or innovation in the commonwealth. They detest the disorders, as well civil as ecclesiastical, of neighbour nations. And the women of this country, to their no small commendation, whenever they go out of the doors, gird themselves about with that winding-sheet that they purpose to be buried in, to shew themselves perpetually mindful of their mortality. O rare example to all!

"11. The languages spoken by the savages in the Virginia plantation.
"12. That other kind also spoken in New England by those savages.
} These in the New World."

Also there was another paper that named all the mother-tongues, with their daughters, which as yet I cannot find: but hope I shall; and then will it be here underneath to be added. Sir, you know I did once shew it you in his study, with the other works before mentioned, and these that follow.

138. (8) EIGHTH WORK; prepared, but not begun. Materials only prepared, and a model drawn of it.

Glory be to God on high.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in twenty-six languages, with Arabic, Syriac, Greek, all interpreted, word for word, with Latin; likewise Hebrew, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Syriac and Greek, all having their several Latin translations lying opposite to them; which six languages are taken out of that most rare and accomplished Bible of the king of France, lately come forth, and as the French report, at the expense of very many thousand pounds, and great pains taken in it, and no few years spent to finish it. All these twenty-six languages are so composed and ordered, that at one view they may be seen and read, with much ease and pleasure as well as to use and benefit. The several twenty-six languages are these that follow:

1. Hebrew.
2. Syriac.
3. Greek.
4. Arabic.
5. Chaldee.
6. Samaritan.
7. Æthiopian.
8. Sclavonian.
9. Hungarian.
10. Cantabrian.
11. Muscovian.
12. Polonian.
13. Bohemian.
14. English-Saxon.
15. German.
16. Danish.
17. Swedish.
18. Low Dutch.
19. English.
20. Welsh.
21. Irish.
22. Latin.
23. Italian.
24. Spanish.
25. French.
26. Portugal.

And moreover there are twelve several English translations; twenty various Latin translations; three Italian; three Spanish; three French; three High Dutch; and three Netherlands. And all these[1] also so placed, ordered, and

[1] "But these several translations are since resolved to be omitted, and in the place and stead of them, some other

contrived that the eye may discern them at one time, and peruse them all with great content: and for the conclusion of the work there is added at the end of the book, that of doctor Fulke, intitled, "A Defence of the sincere and true translation of the holy Scripture in the English tongue, against the manifold cavils and insolent slanders of Gregory Martin, one of the translators of the Rhemish Bible:" and theirs and ours compared together in two several columns. And the Lord's Prayer is also annexed in three-score several languages. Laus Deo.

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139. Of this eighth piece the model and form was contrived to be as you have seen on the foregoing page in that manner. But these sad times coming on amain gave an obstruction to the proceedings

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thing of more use and consequence there placed, and more suitable to this work.

"Since this frontispiece was contrived, and the model of the work framed, it is by the advice and counsel of second thoughts determined that in the place and stead of the twelve several English translations, the twenty various, &c. there shall be placed now either a Concordance of the Four Evangelists, according to that first pattern you have seen and read, being the first work done at Gidding, and presented to the king, and set forth with pictures; or that in that place of the several translations, if no Concordance be there placed, then doctor Hammond's, that learned man's, comments lately printed, shall be placed, and brought into this book, as a necessary and profitable jewel, to be interwoven into the book, as the model drawn doth justly declare to the eye. Glory be to God on high: Peace on earth: Good will amongst men. Amen."—*Marginal note in the MS.*

and attempt, so that it hath lain still till this year 165—. And now it hath so fallen out[1] that (to the honour of those worthy learned men, that have by their great care and diligence set it on foot), the printing of the holy Bible in eight several languages is designed here in England; the which work in many respects is like to pass that Bible both of the king of Spain's, and the aforenamed king of France's: in which regard it is now thought fitting to defer this model and intended work, till that our Bible be finished. And then by the good blessing of God, and the help of some of those active hands, that are yet alive, who were instruments of the other many precedent works, as you have heard, this may in a good hour be begun, and by the help of God and good friends brought into light and finished: so contriving it by that neat way of pasting upon mighty large paper, provided for the same purpose, without which it cannot be effected, that these twenty-six or twenty-eight several languages may be, upon the opening of the book, all seen and read with much profitableness and no less pleasure. A book it will be that hath not its parallel or match in the whole world, and may well

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[1] "The printing of the Polyglot, an illustrious monument of zeal and learning, erected to the glory of their country by bishop Walton, and other episcopal divines, in times of great distress and persecution, began in 1653, and was finished in 1657. The first printed proposals respecting it were issued in the year 1652."—*Dr. Wordsworth's note.*

become, as many learned men say that have seen the model of it, the best library in the Christian world, and a jewel not misbeseeming the greatest potentate's study. God Almighty give both means and heads and hands to effect it: to whom must be the glory, praise and honour! Amen, Amen, Amen.

*Σέβειν δὲ δεῖν ἐγκελευόμεθα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ λόγον σωτῆρά τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα εἶναι πεισθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἐν ἐξαιρέτοις ἡμέραις, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς τὸν ὅλον βίον τοῦτο πράττοντες καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. ἀμέλει τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτόν· "ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνεσά σοι," φησί, κατ' ἐντολὴν δικαιούμενον. ὅθεν οὔτε ὡρισμένον τόπον οὐδὲ ἐξαίρετον ἱερὸν οὐδὲ μὴν ἑορτάς τινας καὶ ἡμέρας ἀποτεταγμένας, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντα βίον ὁ γνωστικὸς ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, κἂν καθ' ἑαυτὸν μόνος ὢν τυγχάνῃ καὶ ὅπου τινὰς ἂν τῶν ὁμοίως πεπιστευκότων ἔχῃ, τιμᾷ τὸν θεόν, τουτέστιν χάριν ὁμολογεῖ τῆς γνώσεως τῆς πολιτείας. εἰ δὲ ἡ παρουσία τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐντροπὴν καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἀεὶ σχηματίζει τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, πῶς οὐ μᾶλλον ὁ συμπαρὼν ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας*

*ἀδιαλείπτως τῷ θεῷ οὐκ εὐλόγως ἂν ἑαυτοῦ παρ' ἕκαστα κρείττων εἴη εἰς πάντα καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν; τοιοῦτος ὁ πάντῃ παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν πεπεισμένος, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐν τόποις τισὶν ὡρισμένοις κατακεκλεισμένον ὑπολαβών, ἵνα δὴ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ποτὲ οἰηθεὶς εἶναι καὶ νύκτα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀκολασταίνῃ. πάντα τοίνυν τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, πάντῃ πάντοθεν παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν πεπεισμένοι, γεωργοῦμεν αἰνοῦντες, πλέομεν ὑμνοῦντες, κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐντέχνως ἀναστρεφόμεθα, προσεχέστερον δὴ ὁ γνωστικὸς οἰκειοῦται θεῷ σεμνὸς ὢν ἅμα καὶ ἱλαρὸς ἐν πᾶσι, σεμνὸς μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιστροφήν, ἱλαρὸς δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐπιλογισμὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός.*

S. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 7. § 35.

# LIFE

OF

# NICHOLAS FERRAR

BY

## DOCTOR JEBB.

*Nihil, inquam, de his loquar: videntur enim nonnullis res humanas plus quam oporteret deseruisse, non intelligentibus quantum nobis eorum animus in orationibus prosit, et vita ad exemplum, quorum corpora videre non sinimur. Sed hinc disputare longum et supervacaneum puto: nam hoc tam excellens fastigium sanctitatis, cui non sua sponte mirandum et honorandum videtur, oratione nostra videri qui potest? Tantum isti admonendi sunt, qui sese inaniter jactant, intantum processisse temperantiam et continentiam sanctissimorum catholicæ fidei christianorum, ut restringenda nonnullis, et quasi ad humanos fines revocanda videatur: usque adeo supra homines illorum animos evasisse, ab iis etiam quibus id displicet, judicatur.*

S. Aug. *De moribus Eccl. Cathol.* § 66.

# LIFE OF NICHOLAS FERRAR.

MR. Nicholas Ferrar of blessed memory was born in London the 21st[1] of February in the year of our Lord 1591[2], and born again of water and the Holy Ghost February the 28th[3]. A day (I find) he registered as more memorable than his birth-day, esteeming it (as he ought) a greater blessing to be received into the Catholic Church, than to come into the world. He was the third son of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, a rich East India merchant, and of Mary his wife, and as he became a follower of St. John the Baptist in a retired and mortified life, so his parents had that good character the word of God bestows on Zacharias and Elizabeth,

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[1] 22nd. [2] 1592–3. See note on pedigree.

[3] "His godmother was a Mrs. Riggs, wife to Capt. Riggs, who recommended herself highly to the esteem of queen Elizabeth by a heroic act which she performed upon the sea-shore at Dover in 1588."—Peckard.

the father and mother of that burning and shining light, that *they were both righteous, &c.* (Luke i. 6). Though he never enjoyed a very firm health, but was inclined to aguish distempers from his infancy, yet his vigorous temper of mind overcame those indispositions of his body, so that he was noted for an active nimble youth, and graceful in all his motions. His genius at six years old began to discover itself much addicted to history, that of the Holy Bible especially, which he compassed in two or three years, and got all the Psalms without book. Then he fell upon the English chronicle and the Book of Martyrs, which, whilst his fellows were playing, he would be reading: and rather than not finish his story, which he seldom forgot, he used often to forget his meals and his sleep, as he was naturally moderate in them both.

2. Even at this time of day he fancied being a clergyman, and made his friends laugh heartily at a request he very solemnly made to his mother: *that whatever his brothers wore, he might wear no lace, but only plain*[1] *clean banns, for he was resolved to*

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they returned upon him, a prescription very agreeable to his patient, who was so great a lover of abstinence. But notwithstanding his exact observance of all that he was ordered, he still so drooped and sunk under his frequent agues (when he was about three years a graduate[1], that Dr. Butler advised it, as the last remedy for him, *to change the air of England and go beyond sea for the recovery of his health, and a necessary diversion from his incessant studies*, pronouncing that *nothing but travel could preserve his life, and that scarce would prolong it beyond his thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year;* but the event proved otherwise, his regular and exact temperance (however austere methods) overreaching the marvellous faculty that great man had in this kind of natural divination. If his parents were extremely loth to part with him, so were many of his fellow-collegians, who loved him as a brother. Yet his tutor prevailed, bidding them all *hope comfortably to see him again, not only improved in health and learning, but grown in grace*, a stock few of our young travellers increase abroad. At his departure, he left behind him sticking in his study window a paper for his father and mother, very pathetically kind to them and his near kindred; where it was found three days after he was gone.

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when it comes to you, as men do with beggars, when they have a mind to disuse them from their houses, give them nothing, but let them go as they came."—Peckard, 25, 26.

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And because it contains his vow of entering into holy orders (which he afterwards religiously performed), and because it justifies all that I have related, how carefully he remembered his Creator in the days of his youth, I shall insert it, as I find it transcribed into the diary which his brother left of him.

7. "Since there is nothing more certain than death, nor more uncertain than the time when; I have thought it the first and chief wisdom for a man to prepare himself for that which must one day come, and always to be ready for that which may every hour happen: especially considering how dangerous an error is here, which cannot be amended: neither is any man any thing the nearer death for being prepared for it. It is then a thing of exceeding madness and folly to be negligent in so weighty a matter, in respect whereof other things are trifles. I here confess my own wretchedness and folly in this, that through the common hope of youth have set death far from me: and persuading myself that I had a long way to run, have more carelessly walked than I should. The Good Lord be merciful unto me.

"Indeed, I have a long way to run, if death stood still at the end of threescore years: but God knows if he be not coming against me, if he be not ready to grasp me, especially considering the many dangers wherein I am now to hazard myself, in every one of which death dwells, and if God keep *me not,* I know in some of them he will entrap me.

If the Good Lord God be merciful unto me, and bring me safe home again, I will all the days of my life serve Him in praising His Holy Name and exhorting others; yea, in His tabernacle, and in His holy sanctuary will I serve Him, and shall account the lowest place in His house better and more honourable than the greatest crown in the world.

"But I know my sins have deserved all His plagues and punishments, that any soul may suffer, but I most humbly beseech God to pardon them for Jesus Christ's sake, and by His only merits and precious death I know my sins are forgiven me; yea, it may be God will take me away in the beginning of my day, it may be in this my journey. I hope He that hath begun this mind in me will continue it in me, and make me to walk so as I may always be ready for Him, when He shall come either in the public judgement of all the world, or in private judgement to me by death. This is my purpose, and this shall be my labour. I thank thee, O Blessed Lord God, for of Thee cometh this mind; it is not of myself, but from the inspiration of Thy blessed Spirit.

"And you, my most dear parents, if God shall take me from you now, I beseech you be of good comfort, and be not grieved at my death, which I undoubtedly hope shall be to me the beginning of eternal happiness, and to you no loss, for you shall with inestimable joy receive me in the kingdom of heaven, to reign there with you and my dearest brother Erasmus, and your other children that are

the father and mother of that burning and shining light, that *they were both righteous, &c.* (Luke i. 6). Though he never enjoyed a very firm health, but was inclined to aguish distempers from his infancy, yet his vigorous temper of mind overcame those indispositions of his body, so that he was noted for an active nimble youth, and graceful in all his motions. His genius at six years old began to discover itself much addicted to history, that of the Holy Bible especially, which he compassed in two or three years, and got all the Psalms without book. Then he fell upon the English chronicle and the Book of Martyrs, which, whilst his fellows were playing, he would be reading: and rather than not finish his story, which he seldom forgot, he used often to forget his meals and his sleep, as he was naturally moderate in them both.

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[1] Mrs. Collett writes thus to her daughter Susanna Mapletoft, March 12, 1629: "I know you have been taught better, and I think it my greatest happiness that God hath provided so graciously for you all here [*at Gidding*], that my unability to instruct you hath been supplied beyond all expected insufficiency to admiration for the love and affection with which it has been performed. God give us all the grace to make the best use of it that still enjoy it."

[2] Saying, "You must henceforth deal with this disorder

they returned upon him, a prescription very agreeable to his patient, who was so great a lover of abstinence. But notwithstanding his exact observance of all that he was ordered, he still so drooped and sunk under his frequent agues (when he was about three years a graduate[1], that Dr. Butler advised it, as the last remedy for him, *to change the air of England and go beyond sea for the recovery of his health, and a necessary diversion from his incessant studies*, pronouncing that *nothing but travel could preserve his life, and that scarce would prolong it beyond his thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year;* but the event proved otherwise, his regular and exact temperance (however austere methods) overreaching the marvellous faculty that great man had in this kind of natural divination. If his parents were extremely loth to part with him, so were many of his fellow-collegians, who loved him as a brother. Yet his tutor prevailed, bidding them all *hope comfortably to see him again, not only improved in health and learning, but grown in grace*, a stock few of our young travellers increase abroad. At his departure, he left behind him sticking in his study window a paper for his father and mother, very pathetically kind to them and his near kindred; where it was found three days after he was gone.

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when it comes to you, as men do with beggars, when they have a mind to disuse them from their houses, give them nothing, but let them go as they came."—Peckard, 25, 26.

[1] "In the autumn of 1612."—Peckard, 26.

And because it contains his vow of entering into holy orders (which he afterwards religiously performed), and because it justifies all that I have related, how carefully he remembered his Creator in the days of his youth, I shall insert it, as I find it transcribed into the diary which his brother left of him.

7. "Since there is nothing more certain than death, nor more uncertain than the time when; I have thought it the first and chief wisdom for a man to prepare himself for that which must one day come, and always to be ready for that which may every hour happen: especially considering how dangerous an error is here, which cannot be amended: neither is any man any thing the nearer death for being prepared for it. It is then a thing of exceeding madness and folly to be negligent in so weighty a matter, in respect whereof other things are trifles. I here confess my own wretchedness and folly in this, that through the common hope of youth have set death far from me: and persuading myself that I had a long way to run, have more carelessly walked than I should. The Good Lord be merciful unto me.

"Indeed, I have a long way to run, if death stood still at the end of threescore years: but God knows if he be not coming against me, if he be not ready to grasp me, especially considering the many dangers wherein I am now to hazard myself, in every one of which death dwells, and if God keep *me not,* I know in some of them he will entrap me.

If the Good Lord God be merciful unto me, and bring me safe home again, I will all the days of my life serve Him in praising His Holy Name and exhorting others; yea, in His tabernacle, and in His holy sanctuary will I serve Him, and shall account the lowest place in His house better and more honourable than the greatest crown in the world.

"But I know my sins have deserved all His plagues and punishments, that any soul may suffer, but I most humbly beseech God to pardon them for Jesus Christ's sake, and by His only merits and precious death I know my sins are forgiven me; yea, it may be God will take me away in the beginning of my day, it may be in this my journey. I hope He that hath begun this mind in me will continue it in me, and make me to walk so as I may always be ready for Him, when He shall come either in the public judgement of all the world, or in private judgement to me by death. This is my purpose, and this shall be my labour. I thank thee, O Blessed Lord God, for of Thee cometh this mind; it is not of myself, but from the inspiration of Thy blessed Spirit.

"And you, my most dear parents, if God shall take me from you now, I beseech you be of good comfort, and be not grieved at my death, which I undoubtedly hope shall be to me the beginning of eternal happiness, and to you no loss, for you shall with inestimable joy receive me in the kingdom of heaven, to reign there with you and my dearest brother Erasmus, and your other children that are

departed in the Lord. If I go before, you must come shortly after: think it is but a little forbearance of me. It was God that gave me to you, and if He take me from you, be you not only content but most joyful that I am delivered from this vale of misery and wretchedness. I know that through the infinite mercy of my gracious God, it shall be my happiness, for I shall then, I know, enjoy perpetual quietness and peace, and be delivered from those continual combats and temptations which afflict my poor soul. O Lord, Thou knowest I may truly say, *that from youth up Thy terrors have I suffered with a troubled mind*[1]. My soul hath been almost rent through violent temptations that have assaulted it: for to thy glory, O Lord, will I confess my own weakness and the great danger Thou hast delivered me from. *It was Thou, Lord, that hast kept me, else had they devoured my soul and made it desolate.* And this God Who thus hath kept me ever since I was born, ever since I came out of your womb, my most dear mother, will preserve me to the end, I know, and give me grace that I shall live in His faith, and die in His fear, and rest in His peace, and rise in His power, and reign in His glory.

"I know, my most dear parents, your tender affection to your children, and therefore I fear your grief if God take me away, and therefore write and

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[1] Psal. lxxxviii. 15 (Prayer-book Version).

leave this, that you might know your son's estate, and assure yourselves (for on the truth of God's infinite mercy am I confident in the hope of my salvation), that though he be dead to you, yet he is alive to God.

"I most humbly beseech you to pardon me in whatsoever I have at any time displeased you, and forgive me: I most humbly beseech God to bless and keep you, and give you a happy life here, and everlasting life in the world to come.

"Your most humble and obedient son,

"N. FERRAR."

"Postscript,

"My dearest brothers and dearest sisters; If I live, you shall find me a faithful loving brother unto you all: if I die, I beseech you by the fear of God, by the duty to our parents, by the bond of nature, by the love you bear me, that you all agree in perfect love and amity, and account every one the other's burthen to be his; so may plenty and prosperity dwell among you. So prays your faithful loving brother,

"N. F."

"If I die, I desire that the value of £5 of my books may be given to the college: the rest I leave to my father's and mother's disposing: yet I desire that in them my worthy tutor Linsell and cousin Theophilus may be remembered: and if any of my

sisters' sons prove a scholar, the rest may be given to him.

"This tenth day of April, 1613, being Sunday[1]."

8. He was so confirmed in goodness and truth, that by the grace of God there was no great danger of his being tainted either with vice or superstition. He had already run over many controversial writers between us and Rome, and he had read several of the ancient fathers, so that he might be safely ventured alone without any governor. Now it fell out, happily for him, that the lady Elizabeth, who was newly married[2] to Frederick the count palatine of Rhine, was to be transported into Holland, and so to be conducted into the Palatinate. Therefore Dr. Scott, who was then master of Clare Hall, and sub-almoner to his majesty, advised him by all means to make one of her highness's retinue. Whereupon, being first created master of arts (the university conferring his degree upon him by extraordinary favour before the commencement[3]), he took his leave of his beloved study in Clare Hall, and put

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[1] This last paragraph, *If I die—to him,* is added from Peckard. In the rest of the paper the most characteristic and beautiful sentences were omitted by Peckard, who, as he says himself, feared "the derision of the fastidious reader at the end of the eighteenth century."

[2] The wedding-day was Feb. 14, 1612–3. The royal pair embarked at Margate, April 25, and landed at Flushing, April 29, 1613.

[3] i.e. before Midsummer, 1613.

himself into the habit of a young gallant: not that he cared for a shining outside, but that he might gain access and admittance in princes' courts; our Saviour Himself, where He describes John Baptist in his camel's hair, not disallowing those that are in king's palaces to wear softer raiment[1]. The Dr. carrying him one day to court, presented him to the princess to kiss her hand, and introduced him into the acquaintance of the courtiers that waited on her highness. The royal fleet landed them all at Flushing[2], and his being very sea-sick cleared him, as Dr. Butler foretold it would, of his aguish humours. No sooner had he set his foot on the shore, but they all took notice of him for a great observer, one that spared no cost or pains to satisfy a laudable curiosity. He quickly got language enough for the despatch of common affairs, having ever his Dutch book with his English translation about him, that he might not lose a minute. He did not make it all his business to see sights and to measure the highth of towers, but he set himself laboriously to study the originals of their cities, the nature of their governments, the humours and inclinations of the people in their several provinces, the strength of their fortresses, the greatness of their arsenals and magazines, their trade and commerce, with the staple interest of their marts and

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[1] Matt. xi. 8, Luke vii. 25. Cf. Matt. iii. 4.

[2] N. F. "went in the same ship with the master of the green cloth, who took an especial liking to him."—Peckard, 42.

public banks, what incomes and impositions supported the vast expense of their navies, with the different way of building their men of war and ours, their politic inventions and ingenious manufactures, where that industrious people employ their lame and impotent[1], so as the very cripples get an honest livelihood. He acquainted himself exactly with the doctrine and discipline of their church; he visited ever the Brownists[2] and Anabaptists at their conventicles, comparing their practice with their books, and confirming himself in the faith of the Christian Church by taking a very particular account of the public worship used by the Jews in their synagogues. Above all, he was careful to make a severe inquiry into the remarkable instances of God's providence, the miracles of His mercy and justice in rewards and punishments which are illustriously visible in the histories of every country, though many such rich observations are buried in oblivion among us for want of reading them. He attended her highness to the Hague and to Amsterdam. Her travel was a triumph;

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[1] "It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here . . . they have hospitals of all sorts for young and old, both for the relief of the one and the employment of the other."—Howell, *u. infr.*

[2] "I am lodged in a Frenchman's house, who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists' church here. . . I believe in this street where I lodge [*at Amsterdam*] there be well near as many religions as there be houses."—Howell, *bk.* i. *s.* 1. *letter* 7.

she was all along royally feasted, and he, as an ornament of her train, was much caressed. But when she begun to steer course directly to the Palatinate, he not intending that way but declaring his design of passing through Westphalia into the upper parts of Germany, some of the greatest quality who belonged to the princess implored him to go to Heidelberg, where the count palatine kept his court, assuring him, *if he sought advancement by his travels, he stood fair for her secretary; such notice her highness had taken of him both by her own observation and by every body's good word.* But he answered with his usual modesty, *That he aimed at lower things, and was not qualified for such an employment.* So he kissed her royal hand, and she graciously bid him farewell, with kind wishes that he might be prosperous in his travels.

9. So he set forward from Amsterdam towards Hamburg, and after he had travelled some days, it happened that he passed through a wood where two or three were hanged on a gibbet in chains. *Look yonder, sir,* (said the post that went along with him, a one-eyed fellow), *these villains so many years ago set upon my wagon, in which was a young English gentleman. They stripped us all and rifled him to his shirt, where they found some gold was quilted. Then they drank up our wine and rode away, neighing at our nakedness in a cold frosty morning. But following the padding trade, they some time after assaulted another wagon, where meeting a stout resistance, they shot three of the*

*passengers: for which they were pursued taken and used as you see. That English youth,* said Mr. Ferrar, *whom these cut-throats used so barbarously, was my own brother*[1], *and when I first saw you I knew you by the story my brother told me of his unlucky adventure with the one-eyed post: but I hope you and I shall have better fortune.*

10. Safely arriving at Hamburg, he was kindly welcomed and entertained by the English merchants[2], upon whom he had bills and letters of credence to deliver him whatever money he demanded; but it was abundantly repaid to his good parents by that excellent character his countrymen gave of him in their letters to their correspondents at London. They observed he would never taste any wine or strong liquor, that he might never be urged to drink with them. At first they tempted him, but he knew how to defend himself, and when they discovered his temperance in eating and drinking, they left importuning him; acknowledging that *he was in the right way, though they* (they said) *could not hit it.* Even in these his younger days he understood the art of dialogue well, and without the pedantry of assuming and imposing upon the

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[1] Probably Richard F., who was at Hamburg when Mrs. Collett wrote to him from Bourne, July 1616, (*Collett Letters*, MSS. No. 2.)

[2] Especially by Mr. Gore, his father's old acquaintance, then deputy governor of the company of merchant adventurers. At Hamburg he took daily lessons in German.—Peckard, 47.

company he would lead the discourse to some useful consideration of virtue or vice, and would so delicately array the one and disrobe the other, that his conversation was no less pleasing than it was instructive, ever interlacing some pertinent and remarkable passages out of sacred and civil history; with which new way of conversation they were strangely taken. Passing through several of their cities, he came up to Leipzig in Saxony, where, being in his own element again, he resolved to fix for some time and continue in that learned university. Presently he made inquiries for the ablest masters in every art[1], whom he would gain entirely, if gold and good words could gain them, to teach him their mystery. Among other curious arts which he learnt abroad he was taught the skill of artificial memory. The Germans are exquisite mechanics, and to every trade he would, if he could, serve an honourable apprenticeship of a week or a fortnight to each. Their painters weavers dyers and smiths were much at his lodgings, and at his service, which enabled him to treat with artisans in their proper terms: he could maintain a dialogue with an architect in his own phrases; he could talk with the mariners in their sea terms, knowing the word for almost every rope and every pin in a ship. Such was his curiosity in all the fine parts of

[1] And, attending all the exercises performed in the public schools, was admired for "the elegant Latin which he spake with the utmost readiness."—Peckard, 50.

learning and knowledge; an affection which is last mortified[1] in a polite and a capacious mind, that now made the great world his other book. He took notes of all in short-hand, when he was by himself; though his memory was so tenacious and so strangely faithful, that many times he could recal the circumstances of time and place with the very words he had heard many years ago. At Leipzig the learned professors courted him to their worthy acquaintance; but his reputation drawing too many visitants, he retired to a neighbour village, where he spent his time in reading the choicest writers on the German affairs. All men concluded he designed greatness and rising in the state by the vast pains he took and by husbanding his time with so scrupulous a care of it. His father, overjoyed at his happy progress, writ him an assurance that *he should neither want money or time to perfect his intentions*, and therefore charged him *not to destroy himself by too much diligence*. After he had visited several courts of the lesser dukes and princes of the empire and carefully surveyed the imperial court and city, he bent his course from Vienna towards Italy.

11. Many German towns being full of the plague at this time, when he came upon the fron-

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[1] Doubtless an allusion to Tacitus's saying (*H.* iv. 6): *Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur;* which Milton (*Lycidas*) has imitated: *Fame, that last infirmity of noble minds.*

tiers of Italy, the Venetian territory, he was compelled at one passage to make his quarantine (as they call it), a custom on this occasion used to air the passengers for forty days. These fell out to be our forty-days fast of Lent, so that he was forced to do penance both under a restraint from company and from flesh, though neither of these was any great constraint upon one already so mortified. Here he had leisure enough to recollect his thoughts, to revise his notes[1], and to reduce his observations into method. He spent this time of fasting and sequestration from the world very agreeably. In the morning he went up into a neighbour mountain, where abundance of wild thyme and rosemary grew; there with a book or two and with his God, Whom he met in the closest walks of his mind, having spent the day in reading, meditation and prayer, he came down in the evening to an early supper (his only set meal) of oil and fish. He omitted not his offices and exercises of devotion morning and evening and at midnight in his travels, for to serve and please his Maker was the travail of his soul. He needed not many books, who was his own concordance, and had the New Testament in a manner without book[2]. And if the time and place would not serve him to kneel, yet then and there he made the lowest prostrations of his soul and spirit.

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[1] Taken in short-hand.—Peckard, 54.

[2] Cf. § 2 and note.

12. I cannot omit one extraordinary deliverance among the many which the providence of God's goodness vouchsafed him in Italy. Riding one time over some dangerous and narrow passages of the Alps, his guide being but a little way before him, out comes an ass from the side of a hill between him and his guide, laden with a large piece of timber lying cross her back, running upon him down the hill, where the way was extremely strait and narrow and steep, as having a wall on the one side and a dreadful descent on the other. His guide not hearing the tread of his mule, looked behind him, and seeing the ass thus laden and now near him, he cried out, *O Lord! O God! the man is lost if he had a hundred lives.* Overhearing the guide's voice he was amazed, and looking up he saw the ass coming down hastily upon him, so that, the wood lying athwart her, he thought it must tumble him and his mule headlong into the dismal valley beneath him: therefore he instantly called upon God to preserve him, and by His infinite mercy to find some means of delivering him. Just as the ass came upon him, she tripped, and with that bowing and sudden violent motion the timber swayed away from him and only gave him a brush on one side as the ass passed quietly by, whilst he and his mule stood still. Immediately alighting and falling flat on his face he made his most humble acknowledgements to Almighty God for his preservation, whilst the guide and the owner of the ass (who coming up told how she broke away as they

were lading her) stood crossing themselves and crying *Miracolo!*

13. At Padua the genius of the place presented him with a fair opportunity, and his own infirm constitution gave him occasion enough, to apply himself intensely to the study of physic, in which by a sudden proficiency he gained the friendship and assistance of the most excellent men in that university. He soon became too well known and oppressed with too many visits, by his own countrymen especially (for it is the Englishman's fault when he is abroad, to lose his time in quest of his mother tongue). To remove this evil he retired ten, twenty, thirty, or forty miles into the country, frequently changing his place of residence and then returning for three weeks or a month to Padua or Venice, where he was treated at a very obliging rate by the honourable sir Dudley Carleton the English ambassador. While he resided at Padua he was seized with a violent sickness[1]. His physicians

[1] "I bless God for the confirmation which he [Thomas Jackson] hath given me in the christian religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the protestant, against Rome. As also, by what I have seen in manuscript of Mr. Ferrar's, and heard by relation of his travels over the western parts of Christendom; in which his exquisite carriage, his rare parts and abilities of understanding and languages, his morals more perfect than the best, did tempt the adversaries to tempt him, and mark him for a prize, if they could compass him. And opportunity they had to do this, in a sickness that seized on him at Padua, where mighty care was had by physicians

were his particular friends, and held a consultation about him in his chamber, and all dreadfully apprehended him to be in extreme danger. They determined to let him blood as the last remedy, to which he was ready to submit; though reasoning the case with them he declared his own sense that *it would hasten his end.* Then a very old physician, who came to him in pure kindness and had been silent before, protested that *he was his own best physician*, and prevailed to defer his bleeding. Next morning there appeared some favourable signs of his recovery, and within three or four days they were perfectly of his opinion, that had they opened a vein, he had been lost. The good old man, transported with joy to have been the means under God of his preservation, came daily and sat whole hours with him while he kept his chamber, admiring the excellency of his parts as well intellectual as moral.

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and others to recover his bodily health, with design to infect his soul. But neither did their physic nor poison work any change in his religion, but rather inflamed him with a holy zeal to revenge their charity, by transplanting their waste and misplaced zeal (as they were all three admirable in separating from the vile what was precious in every sect or person under heaven) to adorn our protestant religion, by a right renouncing the world with all its profits and honours, in a true crucifying the flesh, with all its pleasures, by continued temperance, fasting, and watching unto prayers. In all which exercises, as he far outwent the choicest of their retired men, so did he far undervalue these deeds, rating them much below such prices as they set upon them."—Oley's *Life of Herbert*, xcviii, *xcix.*

They gave him one comfortable expectation, that *he would not be liable to fevers in the latter part of his life* (*which they thought would be none of the longest*), and that *if he still observed a regularity in his diet, as he grew older, he would be healthfuller every day than other;* and so it proved, though his labours and watchings and fastings were far greater as he drew nearer to heaven.

14. He had both studied the Roman antiquities and the best modern accounts of her, and as this study begat in him St. Augustine's wish[1], to have seen her ancient glory, so it gave him a longing desire to see her present polity. But conferring with some that came from thence and were well acquainted with the English college there, he was assured *the Jesuits had him in the wind already, and that those perfect intelligencers had a description of his person with such a character of his abilities and of his manners, that they concluded he came abroad with some great design.* Therefore, as Rome was not so safe a place then[2] as it is now for

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[1] "Present Rome may be said to be but the monument of Rome past, when she was in that flourish that St. Austin desired to see her in."—Howell, *bk.* i. *s.* 1, *letter* 38. "Augustinus fertur tria videre cupiisse: nimirum Christum in carne, Paulum in cathedra, Romam in flore."—J. T. Freigius, *Præf. in Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* (Basil. 1583). For the reference to this passage, which probably gives the original form of this hackneyed saying, I am indebted to the learning of the Rev. Richard Gibbings. Elsewhere we find *triumpho* for *flore*.

[2] The English government at this time looked with

Protestants, if they happened to be discovered, he stole away from Padua, and travelled very privately[1] on foot, casting his business so as to reach Rome upon Monday[2] in the great holy week before Easter. When there, he changed his lodgings every night, and stayed but ten days, which he managed as advantageously as possible to take a view of everything very remarkable. One time he very unadvisedly pressed into a gallery, through which the pope passing in state, all the people fell on their knees to beg his indulgence before Easter, which Mr. Ferrar was not aware of. Though he was too genteel a traveller to have scrupled at such compliments as were usually paid the pope as a temporal prince, set up in the midst of Christian kingdoms and supported at their charges, yet this good Protestant was so surprised at this encounter, that one of the Switz guard, seeing him stand amazed and taking him for some Dutchman, came up to him as if on purpose to preserve him, and clapping his heavy hand upon his shoulder he pressed him down, whispering him softly in the ear *dune Skellam, dune*

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suspicion upon visits to Rome "I have got a warrant," says Howell, "from the lords of the council to travel for three years anywhere, *Rome* and *St. Omers* excepted."—*Letters*, bk. i. s. 1, letter 3.

[1] Communicating his route only to his friend Garton, who, in case anything should happen to him, was to send an account to his family.—Peckard, 63.

[2] *i.e.* Apr. 3, 1615. Comp. § 15, n.

*Skellam*[1]. When the pope was gone by, the fellow took off his hand from his neck; so he got up and got away in the throng, but he felt the great heavy paw of the brawny Switzer a week after, nor would he thrust himself into such places of danger any more.

15. And now taking his leave of Italy, he went to Marseilles, designing from thence to go by sea for Spain; but he was arrested at Marseilles by a more terrible fever than that which seized him before at Padua. Here his physician and his landlord took him for a knight of Malta, as they told him afterwards when he undeceived them. They thought him so because they had by chance espied, among his other curiosities, one of those little crosses usually worn by those knights, which was bestowed upon him when he was among them. His doctor confidently supposing him to be his countryman (for he spoke perfect Italian), wondered at his learned discourses in physic, which he thought very extraordinary for a young knight of Malta, and had a high veneration for him. At the beginning of his sickness he dispatched a passionate letter to his most dear friend Mr. Garton[2], a worthy English gentleman whom he left at Venice, entreating him *to take a charitable voyage to visit the sick in a place where he was a perfect stranger, where he*

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[1] *Du Schelm, Du Schelm!* (you rascal, you rascal!) In Dr. Turner's *Life* the words are *Down, simpleton, down!*

[2] See § 71.

*was obliged to be his own priest, his own book*[1], *and was able to endure no light but from his own memory: wherefore he prayed him to come immediately, if ever he would see him alive or else procure him some corner for a Christian burial.* His distemper grew so high and so acute, that he must either mend or die soon. His doctor took his leave (his last leave as he feared it would prove) one evening; but it pleased God, Whom he day and night invoked with a mighty fervour and with no less resignation, to send him a sound sleep and so comfortable a morning, that his physician pronounced it was a change preternatural and little less than supernatural, and that he was in the special care of the Divine providence. To double his hopes and joys (for which he never failed to double his thanks and praise to Almighty God), his friend Mr. Garton arrived and came to him that very day, even weeping over him and never parting from him[2] until a perfect recovery was established.

16. Soon after he shipped himself in a small English vessel of twelve guns bound from Marseilles[3] to Spain; but they had not sailed far before

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[1] See § 2 with the note.

[2] N. F. would take no refusal, but saw his friend safe back to Venice: when there he wrote (April, 1616) to his parents, giving them an account of his sickness and recovery. On leaving Venice he received from his friend a costly rapier, (comp. § 17. Peckard, 69.)

[3] From Venice (Peckard, 69, who says the vessel carried *ten* guns).

a Turkish pirate gave them chase and fetched them up amain, though the wind was not very favourable to the pirate. The sailors began to tremble, and only the master and his mate had the heart to think of fighting, the major part inclining to strike sail and yield immediately. Our traveller stood upon the deck and heard all, and said nothing till the master appealing to him asked his opinion. *For*, said he, *this young gentleman has a life to lose as well as we; shall we hear what he thinks of it?* Then this young Christian worthy animated them all with such words as David used[1]; *Let us fall into the hands of God and not into the hands of men; however, not into the hands of such men as have cast off all humanity.* He persuaded them to fight manfully, terrifying the fearful with horrid representations of the chains and stripes they must endure together with slavery, and firing the most phlegmatic by recounting how our ancestors lorded it over the sea and were renowned over all the world for their naval victories. He so wrought them, that they all prepared for an engagement, and he was as active[2]

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[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

[2] So Isaac Barrow, when his ship was attacked by a pirate, bore his part manfully in her successful resistance; and when afterwards asked, *Why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong?* replied, *It concerned no man more than myself; I would rather have lost my life, than have fallen into the hands of those merciless infidels.* See Walter Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 136, 137, Barrow's *Opusc.* 211.

*was obliged to be his own priest, his own book*[1], *and was able to endure no light but from his own memory: wherefore he prayed him to come immediately, if ever he would see him alive or else procure him some corner for a Christian burial.* His distemper grew so high and so acute, that he must either mend or die soon. His doctor took his leave (his last leave as he feared it would prove) one evening; but it pleased God, Whom he day and night invoked with a mighty fervour and with no less resignation, to send him a sound sleep and so comfortable a morning, that his physician pronounced it was a change preternatural and little less than supernatural, and that he was in the special care of the Divine providence. To double his hopes and joys (for which he never failed to double his thanks and praise to Almighty God), his friend Mr. Garton arrived and came to him that very day, even weeping over him and never parting from him[2] until a perfect recovery was established.

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[2] N. F. would take no refusal, but saw his friend safe back to Venice: when there he wrote (April, 1616) to his parents, giving them an account of his sickness and recovery. On leaving Venice he received from his friend a costly rapier, (comp. § 17. Peckard, 69.)

[3] From Venice (Peckard, 69, who says the vessel carried *ten* guns).

a Turkish pirate gave them chase and fetched them up amain, though the wind was not very favourable to the pirate. The sailors began to tremble, and only the master and his mate had the heart to think of fighting, the major part inclining to strike sail and yield immediately. Our traveller stood upon the deck and heard all, and said nothing till the master appealing to him asked his opinion. *For*, said he, *this young gentleman has a life to lose as well as we; shall we hear what he thinks of it?* Then this young Christian worthy animated them all with such words as David used[1]; *Let us fall into the hands of God and not into the hands of men; however, not into the hands of such men as have cast off all humanity.* He persuaded them to fight manfully, terrifying the fearful with horrid representations of the chains and stripes they must endure together with slavery, and firing the most phlegmatic by recounting how our ancestors lorded it over the sea and were renowned over all the world for their naval victories. He so wrought them, that they all prepared for an engagement, and he was as active[2]

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[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

[2] So Isaac Barrow, when his ship was attacked by a pirate, bore his part manfully in her successful resistance; and when afterwards asked, *Why he did not go down into the hold, and leave the defence of the ship to those to whom it did belong?* replied, *It concerned no man more than myself; I would rather have lost my life, than have fallen into the hands of those merciless infidels.* See Walter Pope's *Life of Seth Ward*, 136, 137, Barrow's *Opusc.* 211.

as any tarpaulin[1] of them all. The Turk, who had been striving to get the weather-gage, approached and was ready to hail them: the English were resolved to use the advantage of the wind whilst they had it, and to give him a broadside. But as the master was giving the signal to the gunner, the Turk fell off and steered away with all the sail he could make, to their inexpressible joy and to their admiration, till they discovered the reason, viz. that he had descried at a distance a much greater ship and so probably a better booty, which he was unwilling to lose, and they saw him over the poop get apace upon her. They thanked God and their gallant passenger for his courage and conduct, and discerning his excellent skill in maritime affairs, they would hardly believe but that he had been some sea captain in the Venetian fleets against the Turks, and that he had seen hot service.

17. Being landed well in Spain, he travelled to the court at Madrid, and enquired among the English merchants there, *whether or no any bills were come for a friend of his* (for he would not be known), *one Mr. Ferrar?* But his father not supposing he could reach Madrid so suddenly had returned him no money thither. The greatest part of his cash which he had brought from Marseilles was spent, but his countrymen were so taken with his winning behaviour and discourse (though he

[1] See Phillips's *World of Words* and Richardson.

thought it not proper to tell them who he was), that they[1] frankly offered him a very considerable sum, which he courteously refused. But whilst he was deliberating how to shape his affairs and which way to steer his course from Madrid, so as to take an exact survey of Spain (for now he had done with the court), and so to return through France into England, he received an information or rather intimation by a strange way, that his family was involved in sad distresses, and that none but he by his return could extricate them and preserve them from ruin. Submitting to this exigence, he quitted his determination of passing through France, resolving (had it been in his power) to have gone home[2] in as straight a line as it was possible to draw. He therefore desired to reach St. Sebastian's and there to take shipping for England. So, selling some jewels to supply his present necessity, he travelled on foot[3] with a rapier in his hand (as the Spaniards call it) *in cuerpo*[4], i. e. in doublet and breeches. He chose

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[1] Especially Mr. Wyche the son of a merchant, who was an intimate friend of Nicholas Ferrar the elder.—(Peckard, 72.)

[2] "As straight as an angel could lay a line."—Bp. Turner.

[3] Suffering severely from blisters, until directed by his hostess to bathe his feet in a bowl of sack, which he found an effectual remedy.—Peckard, 74, 75.

[4] "*To walk in cuerpo*, i. e. to go without a cloak."—Phillips's *World of Words*. "They unmantled him of a new plush cloke, and my secretary was content to go home quietly, and *en cuerpo*."—Howell, *bk.* i. *s.* 1. *letter* 17.

this way of travelling in Spain (a kingdom not very hospitable to strangers, especially to known protestants and unprotected), not because his stock grew low, but that he might pass the more unsuspected and unquestioned. In all places wherever he thought fit to offer any discourse he was very inquisitive after the state of the war in Flanders, which his hosts or fellow-travellers observing, they took him for a young Italian gentleman going towards Flanders to serve under the marquis Spinola, the great commander in those parts for the king of Spain. At one little town the governor would have taken away from him his curious rapier, which he denied him, saying, *A man of courage ought no more to part with his sword than with his life*[1]. When still he was urged to surrender it, he answered wisely and resolutely, that *if it was forced away from him, he should find friends at court that would see him take no wrong.* Some judged by his free speech and by his brave deportment that he was some extraordinary person incognito; therefore they advised the governor to press him no further. *Well,* said the Don, *I did this only to try you, I see you love your arms, which indeed is soldierlike; I perceive you are for the Flemish wars*

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[1] Adding that it was given him by a dear friend, who had charged him to keep it. Peckard, 76. His bearing a rapier would incline strangers to take him for an Italian. "His long rapier," says Walton in his *Life of Wotton*, "which Italian-like he then wore."—Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 79.

*under your countryman Spinola;* and so dismissed him to proceed on his wearisome journey.

18. One day, as he was forced to foot it alone and meeting nobody, he was obliged to guess his way by the landmarks they had given him where he had lodged the night before. Towards evening he perceived that his way (as he took it to be) led him to a very high hill, which climbing with great pains, he saw a vast circuit of ground flanked and bulwarked on every side with rocks, nor could he discern any path leading out of it. At this he was in a sad perplexity, suspecting he had wholly mistaken the hill that he was to ascend, and fearing he must take up his lodging all night in the open air; when, beseeching God to help and direct him and seconding his prayers with his endeavours, as he was looking up and down for some ways and means to help himself (since it was too late to turn back), he spied a great black hog running out from between two rocks. He ran to see what became of it, in hopes it might be a tame hog and some house not far off. By and by he saw it run down at the farther end of the mountain, and coming to the place, he perceived it a place cut out of a rock with a window to give some light. He entered into a turning and winding passage, which grew more and more dark till he came to a glimmering of light again from such another window; then listening, he overheard the voices of some that were talking, and found it a *venta* (as they call it), or one of their paltry inns to harbour passengers. Coming

in he saluted his host, who wondered how he could find the way thither without a guide. But here he saw very suspicious tokens and quickly perceived that he was fallen into very bad company, yet there was no retreating; therefore complaining (as he had reason), how weary and sleepy he was, he laid himself down on the bench to take some rest, still grasping his rapier. But he had hardly composed himself before a brace of hectors with an impudent quean came roaring into the room. One of the ruffians affronted the woman, t'other protected her, so feigning a quarrel they flourished in the air with their swords, and the weaker called upon him on the bench to arise and help him, only to engage him into a brawl for a pretence to assassinate him with the law on their side: but having to deal with counterfeits, he feigned himself all the while in a deep sleep. At last the duel was at an end through the host's mediation, and it pleased God he heard no more of them: so he got up before sunrise and stole away.

19. After a tedious travel on foot from Madrid to St. Sebastian's, he was constrained to stay a long time for a wind. The English factors there (as everywhere else) were extremely kind to their unknown countryman, whom they discerned to be a gentleman of very great worth and experience. They pressed him day after day to command their purses, and he was not nice in acknowledging that his own was at an ebb. In the end he was content to accept the loan of £10 and no more. He knew

there was sometimes as much goodnature in receiving handsomely as in doing a courtesy. When the wind came about fair, he was accompanied aboard by several of his new acquaintance; where taking a kind leave of them, within a few days he arrived at Dover, and leaping on shore he fell flat on his face on his mother earth, and rendered most humble thanks to God for so many preservations abroad, and for bringing him home safe and sound to his native country [1]. So posting from Dover to London, and finding his father's door open, he entered the house in his Spanish habit. His father, seeing one in that garb kneeling and begging his blessing, demanded *Who he was?* for he did not know him. He named himself, at which the good old man, who did not dream of his coming, felt all the transports of an affectionate father. Thus after about five years' absence in travel he returned home with a far better constitution than he carried abroad, and was received by all his friends with all the satisfaction imaginable. He would fain have resettled himself in his cell at Clare Hall, but his aged parents enjoined him to fix with them in the city of London the great theatre of England, where he

[1] Many scarce books in various languages, chiefly treating of a spiritual life and of religious retirement, together with prints by the best masters relating to scripture subjects, all of which he had collected in his travels, reached England before him. Of these only a few prints escaped in the devastation of Gidding, and were in Peckard's possession in 1790 (Peckard, 88, 89).

presently has a very good part and excellently well he performed it.

20. Instantly upon his return he becomes a public person. Now the spheres in which he moves are the court of the king's great council of parliament: now, as if the world which he had already seen had been too little for him to study, he lays out his thoughts upon the new found world, and at last he does a greater thing than ever was done by Alexander the Great: he so overcomes the world as to subdue himself and all his love of the world, and being more than conqueror he marches out of it into a holy retirement.

21. Old Mr. Ferrar being an alderman's fellow, and having been intimate with those brave men and gallant sailors, sir Walter Rawley, sir John Hawkins, and sir Francis Drake, was a great lover and encourager of plantations, himself being one of the most early adventurers in that of Virginia and the Somer[1] Islands. A design, it must be acknowledged, the greatest and most honourable of its kind that ever was so generously embraced and undertaken by our English nobility, gentry, clergy, and the city of London. It was a project for the common good, for the employment of unsettled people, for estates to younger brothers, for a supply

[1] He and his sons J. F. and N. F. all appear as shareholders in the Somer Islands, A.D. 1618 (Smith's *Virginia*, 188). N. F. was deputy of this company (and lord Cavendish treasurer) in 1622, but not in the following years (*ib.* 200).

of those commodities which we were fain to fetch from other countries at intolerable rates[1], and above all, for the conversion of the rude and miserable savages there to the Christian faith[2]. Many

[1] "How much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing kingdoms [Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, France, Spain, Italy, Holland], for the benefit of our land, when as within one hundred miles all those [their commodities] are to be had.... So then here is a place, a nurse for soldiers, a practice for mariners, a trade for merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a business most acceptable to God, to bring such poor infidels to the knowledge of God and His holy gospel."—Smith, 29. Cf. *ibid.* 163, 209, 211. Hakluyt, iii. 267 seq.

[2] Mr. Anderson (*Hist. of the Col. Church*) has proved the truth of this statement. *The gaining provinces*, says Smith in his preface, *addeth to the king's crown: but the reducing heathen people to civility and true religion bringeth honour to the King of heaven.* Again (226): *Had the seed of Abraham, our Saviour Christ and His apostles exposed themselves to no more dangers to teach the gospel than we, even we ourselves had at this present been as savage and as miserable as the most barbarous savage yet uncivilized.* He elsewhere appeals (221) to another motive spoken of in the text: *What was it both in their purse and person they would not do for the good of their commonwealth, which might move them presently to set out their spare children in these generous designs? Religion above all things should move us, especially the clergy, if we are religious, to shew our faith by our works, in converting those poor savages to the knowledge of God, seeing what pains the Spaniards take to bring them to their adultered faith.* See too 117, 143, 145, 217. Jonas Stockam, a minister, cruelly suggests, "till their priests and ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion."—*Ibid.* 140. Various gifts for religious uses are recorded (127, 141).

of the bishops[1] and dignified clergy engaged in this affair with an extraordinary zeal for the propagation of the gospel, to wipe off that aspersion, however unjustly thrown upon the Church of England by the Church of Rome, *that we convert no unbelievers abroad:* whereas indeed, our clergy (who are but a handful of men to that of theirs)[2], whilst theirs are so busy to pervert the souls committed to our charge. But though the Jesuits have had great trading on that vast continent of Mexico, yet Virginia was safe enough from such charitable attempts of those merchants; for where there are no mines or plenty of gold or silver, there we seldom hear they *compass sea and land to make their proselytes*[3]. Sir Edwin Sandys was a prime manager of this Virginia affair, and treasurer[4] to this noble company; and, having named that gentleman, I must not slightly pass him over, especially since he and Mr. Ferrar within two months of his return from abroad contracted so near a friendship, that they were seldom asunder. It was that

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[1] Abbot, Montague, Mountaine and Parry are named in a list of the company printed in 1620, which seems to include past as well as present members (Smith, 130 seq.). Smith's *Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England* (reprinted in the *Massachus. Hist. Collect. third ser.* iii. 1 seq.) are dedicated to the two archbishops.

[2] Something has fallen out here, probably to this effect, *carry the gospel far and wide among the heathen.*

[3] Matt. xxiii. 15.

[4] In 1619, when John Ferrar was deputy (Smith, 125, 126).

sir Edwin Sandys who thought it no less both his honour and happiness to have been Mr. Hooker's pupil, than to have been son to the lord archbishop of York: it was he that wrote the admirable *Europæ Speculum*, wherein may be seen the image of the eloquent author's politic and pious mind; he was indeed one of the blessings and glories of his time. Old Mr. Ferrar[1] lent his great parlour and hall for the governors of the Virginia company to meet in weekly[2], and was much joyed to see his son as heartily affording his assistance to sir Edwin as he entreated it in this hard work. Nay, his care and charity could not confine itself to Virginia, for he and his ingenious brother Mr. John Ferrar frankly bestowed two shares of land they had in Bermuda for the maintenance of a free school there, whither they also sent a great number of bibles and psalm-books for the children. He was presently made

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[1] "Master Nicholas Ferrar, deceased, hath by his will given three hundred pounds to the college, to be paid when there shall be ten young savages placed in it; in the mean time £24 yearly to be distributed to three discreet and godly young men in the colony, to bring up three wild young infidels in some good course of life."—Smith, 127.

[2] By the third patent for Virginia (Mar. 12, 1612), "it was ordered that weekly, or even more frequent, meetings of the whole company might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved to the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected and all laws established."—Bancroft, 60.

known to those noble lords that were engaged as adventurers, above twenty peers of the realm; but he was received with open arms by my lord Southampton, the most generous patron and the most vigorous promoter of this glorious enterprise. Mr. Nicholas Ferrar the younger was sure to be named for one in all committees; he was become their secretary to all intents and purposes except taking fees, which he never touched, but left them all to the person that had the title of secretary, who did but write after him. Their letters of advice to the colony were drawn by him[1]; he had the framing and ordering of all instructions, either for matter of government[2], or for the country's improvement

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[1] Smith, who brings many objections against the company's management, the expenses of its official staff, &c., admits (166) the ability with which these papers were drawn up.

[2] By Sandys's influence the colony received a free government: the first representative assembly met in June, 1619. A written constitution, established by an ordinance July 24, 1621, made this assembly independent of the company at home, and granted the right of trial by jury. Well may Bancroft say, "The London company merits the fame of having acted as the successful friend of liberty in America. It may be doubted, whether any public act during the reign of King James was of more permanent or pervading influence; and it reflects glory on the earl of Southampton, sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity, and state of society of Virginia, that they never could be separated."—*Hist. Un. States*, 63–65.

by staple commodities. He procured men out of France that were skilful in feeding and ordering silkworms[1], and we owe it to his contrivance that Virginia now affords some as good silk as Persia. He treated with the civilians, the common lawyers, and the divines that came to their courts; he managed the victualling and setting out of their ships. If reading considering and advising would make him perfect master of his business, he would study it with such unwearied diligence, that *he alone* (as the tradesmen and seamen acknowledged) *could direct all the officers.* Thus, before he was aware of it, this great young man had made himself necessary to those parts of the other world.

22. The fame of these exploits flew into Spain, and the Spanish ambassador, count de Gundamore[2]

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[1] "By the dwelling of the savages are some great mulberry-trees, and in some parts of the country they are found growing naturally in pretty groves. There was an essay made to make silk, and surely the worms prospered excellent well, till the master-workman fell sick. During which time they were eaten with rats."—Smith, 26. "The *Frenchmen* affirm no country is more proper for vines, olives, silk."—*Ib.* 140. Cf. 143, 156, 161. *Massachus. Hist. Coll. first ser.* v. 126, *second ser.* ix. 109.

[2] "Our statesmen . . . had store of Gundemore's gold to destroy and discountenance the plantation of Virginia. . . . He did affirm to his friends that *he had commission from his master to ruin that plantation. For,* said he, *should they thrive and go on increasing as they have done under the government of that popular lord of Southampton, my master's West Indies and his*

had instructions from the king his master, to have an eye upon those notable managers, for fear, if the English were so well planted in so fruitful a country, so near the Spanish dominions by sea, they might be tempted one day with the glistering of their mines to become formidable neighbours; and these were no idle fears, for our late great usurper[1] had set his heart upon the Spanish gold to pay his red-coats, and advanced far, though he miscarried at last, in the greatest of all his designs, the West Indies. But now it happened in an evil hour for this excellent good design upon Virginia, that the great negociation began upon the Spanish match: the Spanish faction was very powerful at court, and Gundamore had a great interest in the king himself. This politic minister set spies upon these good patriots at their courts; he misrepresented all

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*Mexico would shortly be visited by sea and by land from those planters in Virginia.* And marquis Hamilton told the earl of Southampton that Gundemore said to king James, that the *Virginia court was but a seminary to a seditious parliament."—A perfect description of Virginia*, London, 1649 (*Massachus. Hist. Coll. second ser.* ix. 113).

[1] This life was written temp. Car. II. See § 55. Venables and a land-force under his orders sailed on board Penn's fleet from Portsmouth, Dec. 27, 1654, made an unsuccessful descent on St. Domingo, and seized upon Jamaica, which has since remained in our possession. "To be able with the help of Spanish gold to carry on his design in England, without depending upon a parliament for money, is thought was the true motive of his attempt upon St. Domingo."—Welwood's *Memoirs* (2nd ed.), 116.

their proceedings to king James; he insinuated, that *the Virginia courts and meetings at Mr. Ferrar's would be a seminary for turbulent spirits*, that *Southampton was a popular lord* (though he was so no otherwise than on a public spirit), that *he and Sandys and Ferrar were politicians*, that *they drove at breaking the Spanish match which then appeared in good forwardness*, and that, *if a parliament were called they would, if they could, make a breach between the two crowns.* At the next election of treasurer (who was annually chosen) a very surprising message from the court forbad the choice of sir Edwin Sandys[1] again for the ensuing year; whereupon the whole company, which was very numerous, cried up my lord Southampton[1] for their treasurer, and as unanimously agreed upon Mr. Nicholas Ferrar for his deputy[2], giving him their votes by ballot[3]; and there was not one ball against him. The new treasurer immediately rose up and

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[1] Sandys and Southampton were shareholders also in the Somer Islands, and each gave name to one of the seven tribes into which they were divided in 1618 (Smith's *Virginia*, 187).

[2] In 1622 (Burk, i. 257, Smith, 143). In 1620 and 1621 Southampton had been treasurer, and John F. deputy (Smith, 128, 138). James had sent a similar message "nominating four candidates, one of whom he desired should receive the appointment," when Sandys resigned, May 17, 1620 (Stith, 176–181).

[3] Sandys introduced the ballot in the hope of securing free elections (Peckard, 94).

made his express acknowledgements to the company for fitting him with such a deputy, protesting that *though he wore the noble name of their governor, yet this must be the man to act all for him and them too.*

23. This employment obliged him to appear often at court, and sometimes twice a week before the council board, whither the company pressed along with him in great numbers. With such a show of popularity he was not at all delighted, but he willingly received a command not to come thither with more than twelve attendance[1]. The lords of the faction[2] loaded the company with envy enough, neither were they permitted to speak for themselves by counsel, but this unequal task was put upon the deputy as representative of all the patentees. So young Mr. Ferrar must answer all those objections the king's attorney[3] himself could devise against them. In the management of this weighty cause, wherein he had the advice of the ablest lawyers, he discovered such great integrity

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[1] *Ante*, 15, note.

[2] The chief of whom was the earl of Warwick. "Upon Wednesday," we read in a letter to Mead, dated London, July 18, 1623, "at the Bermudas court sir Edwin Sandys fell foul upon the earl of Warwick. The lord Cavendish seconded Sandys, and the earl told the lord, that, *by his favour, he believed he lied.* Hereupon, it is said, they rode out yesterday, and, it is thought, gone beyond sea to fight."—Birch's *Court of Jas. I.* ii. 412.

[3] *Sir Thos.* Coventry.

with such a presence of mind, and yet with so much deference and profound submission to his majesty, that even they whose interest it was to decry the merits of his cause, would acknowledge the merits of his person, and were pleased to say *he well understood state affairs, and that it was fit he should be taken off that business and employed in higher.* Accordingly marquis Hamilton and William earl of Pembroke[1] sent him overtures to make him clerk of the council, and sending him as envoy into Savoy. But he had already formed his resolutions, though he had not yet shaped his occasions, for another and that a more private course of life; so with great expressions of gratitude to those noble lords he declined both those tempting offers. The lord treasurer Cranfield told him hotly one day, that *his interest and advice might prevail with the company to lay down the patent.* He humbly replied and represented, that *a very considerable number of the English nobility and gentry, besides all the planters, were engaged upon the royal word and under the broad seal;* that *they had ventured their estates, and many of their lives upon the most religious accounts and the most honourable action in its kind that England ever undertook; that now they had brought the plantation, if not to perfection, yet into a very*

[1] Of the seven tribes into which the Somer Islands were divided in 1618, two were named from these noblemen, and the Ferrars had their shares (§ 20 n.) in Pembroke's tribe (Smith's *Virginia*, 187, 188).

*thriving condition*[1]; that *he could only speak for himself and in behalf of some others there present, in whose names he laid his and their private interests at his majesty's feet; but he would not abuse his trust to hurt the public.* Another complaint was exhibited against the deputy himself and promoted by the Spanish minister, who more pleasantly than honestly used to say, that *a lie might be worth a great deal, if it would hold water but a few hours.* They suggested that since his majesty had this cause before him, young Mr. Ferrar had drawn up dangerous instructions and dispatched away several letters of very evil counsel to the governor of Virginia, how the planters should behave themselves and stiffly insist on the patent. Hereupon in all haste he was sent for to court by a pursuivant, and those papers demanded of him. He answered, that *all those papers were in the secretary's hands.* So all were sent for exposed and perused, not only to their entire satisfaction concerning his integrity, but even to the admiration of his politics piety and eloquence. They were so exactly penned, that some of them were called for again and recited a second time. *Who drew up these?* said one of the lords. He modestly replied, *The company. No,* said

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[1] When Sandys assumed office in 1619, the colonists amounted in all to six hundred; within three years fifty patents for land were granted, and three thousand five hundred persons found their way to Virginia, which was a refuge *even for puritans* (Bancroft, 64).

another privy councillor, *it's all one hand, and you have the chief hand in it; they are very rare pieces.* A copy of one letter was shewed king James, that excellent judge of wit, and when he had seen it he delivered his judgement upon it in these very words: *He that drew this has a head above all his opposers; 'tis a master-piece indeed; the man has much worth in him.*

24. And though he easily foiled the cabal whenever they demanded audience in so ill a cause as theirs, yet they were restless enemies: at last they brought in I know not how many sheets of articles and accusations against the government of the Virginia company. These they presented to the lord treasurer Cranfield and other grandees of the Spanish faction. They gave in this charge upon a Thursday[1]. The lord treasurer gives notice of it to the deputy, and requires his punctual answer to all particulars by the next Monday in the afternoon. The deputy protests against these proceedings as an insupportable hardship put upon them, and craves more time, at least one week more, but is austerely refused by the lord treasurer and denied one hour longer. If cardinal Wolsey be still famous ever since king Henry the seventh's reign for one strange dispatch, posting to the emperor Maximilian at Calais and back again to Richmond

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[1] Thursday before Easter [i. e. Apr. 10] 1623 (Peckard, 141).

in the compass of three days[1], I must needs think this as remarkable, which Mr. Ferrar and two other gallant gentlemen performed on this occasion though sitting still. For being treated so severely by my lord treasurer, he presently assembled the company, before whom all the articles of the charge held reading three hours. The company refer themselves and all their concerns entirely to the joint care of the honourable the lord Cavendish[2] sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. These three made it midnight ere they parted; they ate no set meals, they slept not two hours all Thursday and Friday nights; they met to admire each other's labours on Saturday night, and sat in judgement upon the whole until five o'clock on Sunday morning: then they divided it equally amongst six nimble scribes, and went to bed themselves as it was high time for them. The transcribers finished their task by five o'clock on Monday morning; at six the company met in court, and took a hasty review of it by twelve at noon; at two in the afternoon they resolved to meet and carry it to the council board, where their adversaries were talking merrily, that *now the patentees were coming with blank paper to require more time.* When the answer was offered at the council the lords were

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[1] See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (in Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* i. 468 seq. ed. 3).

[2] Smith (*Virginia*, 187) speaks of Cavendish's afterwards *Devonshire's* tribe in the Somer Islands in 1618.

astonished and almost affrighted at the bulk of it, asking them, *if they had not employed all the scribes in London?* It was run over very swiftly in six hours or thereabouts, to the entire satisfaction and joy of some, but to the extreme regret and discontent of the other party, who were so baffled by this answer, that they attempted no more at the council[1] board, but only in Westminster Hall, to void the patent; where though the deputy managed a righteous cause with all the industry and dexterity imaginable and natural to him, yet by a nicety in law such a defect was found in the patent, that it was voided and nulled by sentence of court. So the

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[1] "A *quo warranto* was granted against master deputy Ferrar and twenty or thirty others of that party, to plead their cause before . . . his majesty's privy council. Now notwithstanding all the relations, examinations, and intercepting of all letters, whatsoever came from thence, yet it seems they were so far unsatisfied and desired to know the truth, as well for the preservation of the colony, as to give content and do all men right, they sent two commissioners strictly to examine the true estate of the colony. Upon whose return, after mature deliberation, it pleased his royal majesty to suppress the course of the court at deputy Ferrar's, and that for the present ordering the affairs of Virginia, until he should make a more full settlement thereof, the lord viscount Mandevile, lord president of his majesty's privy council, and also other privy councillors, with many understanding knights and gentlemen, should every Thursday in the afternoon meet at sir Thomas Smith's, . . . as more at large you may see in the proclamation to that effect, under the great seal of England, dated the 15. of July, 1624."—Smith, 168.

colony languished, and the most flourishing plantation in the world was almost blasted under new lords and new laws.

25. From the time that the deputy apprehended the interest of the company to decline, he had kept a man in his house a whole year to write out fairly all the court rolls, registers, letters, instructions, &c. These cost him out of his own purse above £50 the transcribing, so when the originals were extorted from them, he had copies of them all attested upon oath. These he presented to my lord Southampton, who protested *he should esteem them as much more highly than the evidences of his land, as his honour was dearer to him than his estate or his life.*

26. About this time two such obliging offers, as might have shaken a great constancy, did in vain tempt this Christian hero to a little more love of the world. One was the mathematic lecture in Gresham college, which Mr. Briggs being to leave for the Savilian professor's place in Oxford, he importunately recommended Mr. Ferrar to the company of mercers; that *his great friend, whom he wished his successor, was excellent in that part of learning;* and advising them *upon any terms to fix this office upon him, though they should purchase him by a considerable augmentation of his salary; for so he might apply himself entirely to study geometry, and he would be an honour to his native city.* But he humbly refused the offer, alledging that *he had other intentions and aims, if it pleased God to ripen*

*them to a happy issue.* But it was no great wonder if he would not make geometry his mistress, who at the same time declined a nobler offer, and that was a very agreeable person with a great fortune offered him for a wife. This was the only child and heiress of a rich merchant, one of the Virginia company, who courted and wooed him to take her and £10,000 with her. He argued pleasantly with her father, that *he was not worthy to enter into the honourable state with so much wealth:* but the father reinforced his proposal, and protested *he was in love with him;* yet this excessive kindness only extorted from him a declaration, that, *if God vouchsafed him the gift of continence, he was resolved not to marry at all* (though he knew the world and the church too well to speak or think dishonourably of that estate in his clergy friends). So resolute he was to deny himself in anything that might in the least obstruct his great design of retiring and sharing his estate, so as to enjoy it only in common with his many relations. The merchant appeared extremely perplexed, yet he declared, *if the gentleman never married, he should take it more patiently,* and expressed much affection to him ever after.

27. In the year 1624 a parliament was called, where Mr. Ferrar, without his least endeavour or seeking after it, was by the means of some lords in the Virginia company chosen a member of the house of commons, as also sir Edwin Sandys and above a hundred other gentlemen of the Virginia company. It was that parliament where the lord

treasurer Cranfield was impeached, and particularly accused for oppressing the patentees. The lord Cavendish sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Ferrar were ordered by the house to draw up the charge, which could not be long a-doing, when those three gentlemen, who had formerly given his lordship such proofs of their activity, had the doing of this business. Mr. Ferrar was deputed to bring in the charge, and he brought it in with a speech very long but nothing tedious, for it was great natural eloquence, and (to speak truth) it was that gave the lord treasurer his mortal wound. But here I dare not omit one very remarkable passage to demonstrate how tender his conscience was towards God, and what a loyal obedient heart he had towards the king. For these engagements and his too free speeches against the will of his prince, though exceedingly well meant, were so deep and so long a regret and shame to him afterwards, that he was heard to say (stretching out his right hand), *I would I were assured of the pardon of that sin, though on that condition this right hand were cut off.* Thus if *his tongue, the best member that he had* as the Psalmist[1] calls it), *offended* him by offending his God or his king, he would rather go *maimed to heaven*[2], than run the least hazard of losing the right way.

28. If at this time his hands were full of the public business, they were overloaden with the

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[1] cviii. 1 (Prayer-book Version).

[2] Matt. v. 29, 30.

private affairs of his own family, which, according to the advertisement given him abroad, he found at his coming home involved in such difficulties, as nothing but the infinite mercies of God and the wisdom of this great man, which was designed to be God's instrument in it, could have wrought their deliverance. His honest brother John's estate was £7000, but being engaged for his friends and partners £6000 deep, he was left in the lurch to pay all the debt. But this good brother of his (Mr. Nicholas Ferrar), whom his father (lately dead and dying in a good old age) had left sole executor though the younger brother, undertook the satisfaction of all his creditors, and took the wise man's advice[1] in case of suretyship, giving himself no rest until he had fetched off his brother upon very advantageous terms. In a grateful memorial of this extraordinary preservation when his whole family was sinking, he, after it was settled, composed as good a form of thanksgiving[2] as ever I saw for such an occasion, setting apart the last day of every month as a day of devotion, on which these prayers for the family's deliverance were solemnly and constantly offered up in that happy society. While he was working for life to redeem those whom God had committed to his charge from a ruin almost as

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[1] Prov. vi. 1–4.

[2] Peckard has mutilated this thanksgiving, which he says was used on the *first Sunday* in every month. His copy may be seen in the Appendix.

insupportable as death, it was the time of the great plague, 1625. One died of the infection the next door to their house, yet some of them, not imagining it was the plague, were invited and went to the burial. But another sickening in the same neighbour's house, he then understood the danger, and in pious care of his aged mother he conveyed her and the rest of the household to her daughter Collett's house at Bourne in Cambridgeshire. Yet he would not quit the town himself, but stayed in it when there died four thousand a week[1], till he had paid every one their due and cleared the estate of all engagements.

29. His mother had bought a lordship the year before in so obscure a village, it scarce had any name in our most accurate maps, till the fame of the holy life he lived in that place made the name of Little Gidding sound high in England. It was a very good air but a depopulated place in Huntingdonshire, no house in the parish but only the manor-house and a cottage for the shepherds, who together with their dogs were very sufficient managers of the whole estate, which lay in pasture. Thither he dismissed his brother John at the beginning of the plague, to make ready an apartment for him; whither at last he came himself: yet he entreated his mother to stay above a month at Bourne while he was airing himself and making another quarantine, for fear he might bring her the

[1] In one week five thousand.—Whitlock (2nd ed.), 2.

infection. But the generous matron would run that hazard, longing to see him who had so nobly ventured and *stood between the living and the dead*[1] to save her and her posterity. Within three days after his arrival she rides to Gidding, fifteen miles from Bourne. Their greeting was like that of old Jacob and his son Joseph[2], after his father had given him over for lost, while he was providing for the support of the family. Such an interview must needs be passionately kind and zealously devout, both of them blessing God, and she again and again blessing her son. He prayed her to enter the rude house and to repose herself after her journey. *Not so,* said she, *yonder I see the church; let us first go thither, to give God thanks that He has brought me to this good place and has restored me my son.* It was told her, *there was no getting into it, for as yet there had not been time to empty the hay that was in it, which was intended shortly to be done.* By the sacrilege and profaneness of the former inhabitants of Gidding the house of God was turned into a hay-barn and a hog-sty. But this good woman had somewhat of Augustine's mother Monnica in her devotion, of whom that father affirms[3], that *if a*

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[1] Numb. xvi. 48. [2] Gen. xlvi. 29.

[3] "An vero tu, Deus misericordiarum, sperneres cor contritum et humiliatum viduæ castæ ac sobriæ... nullum diem prætermittentis oblationem ad altare tuum; bis in die, mane et vespere, ad ecclesiam tuam sine ulla intermissione venientis?"—*Conf.* v. 9. § 17. "Ad cujus pretii nostri sacramentum ligavit ancilla tua animam suam vinculo fidei. Nemo a

*dragon stood between her and the altar, she would have stept through him to advance thither.* So this divine soul persisted in her ardent resolution, and thrusting into the church a little way, she kneeled and prayed and wept there about a quarter of an hour. Then she charged her son *to send instantly for all the workmen about the house,* which were many, and commanded them *to fling out all the hay at the church windows, and to cleanse it as well as they could for the present.* She was obeyed, and she saw all this done before she would stir or set her foot in the house. Then she entered the ruinous place where there was hardly one dry room to lodge her, yet they passed away the time with a great deal of cheerfulness. Next morning orders were given for the church to be well washed and swept, and workmen were presently employed in its reparations. Thus did the holy woman acquit herself like the mother of such a son, her zeal in this transaction preventing his, as if she had vowed the Psalmist's vow[1] *to give herself no rest until she had found out a place for the temple of the Lord.* But she publicly owned at this time to have made another vow of a more solemn importance, and that was *to serve God better than she had done heretofore, which was to make herself more the temple of the Holy Ghost*[2], *since God had redeemed her and her*

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protectione tua disrumpat eam. Non se interponat nec vi nec insidiis leo et draco."—*Ibid.* ix. 13. § 36.

[1] cxxxii. 4, 5. [2] 1 Cor. vi. 19.

*children from destruction and death, and had brought them to so pleasant a place, that now she could repeat the Psalm*[1] *in her own behalf, that her lot was fallen in a fair ground and she had a goodly inheritance.*

30. A month being overpast, and no danger appearing of infection by her son's coming out of the fatal city, she sent for her children and grandchildren and other her dear relations from Bourne, that they all might live and serve God together at this their new purchase. Seating themselves there, it required much cost and time to repair the old crazy house, and to make it a convenient habitation for a religious and numerous family (consisting of above forty persons), of whom above half were so descended from the old gentlewoman, that they kneeled to her morning and evening for her blessing[2]. Then Mr. Nic. Ferrar, who was as it were the soul that inspirited the whole family with piety, began to bring all their affairs both spiritual and temporal into as good order as could be expected and as the sadness of the time did either permit or exact of them; the church being now made fit for use, and in those additions of structure or ornament which were made to the church there were none of

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[1] xvi. 7 (Prayer-book Version).

[2] See a good note in Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 180 seq. ed. 3. "There are national differences in outward reverence and worships: ... children kneel to ask blessing of parents in England; but where else?"—Donne's *Sermon on Gen.* i. 26 (4to. ed. 23).

the family that had not a hand, and they that through absence could not do it themselves, had a stone laid by some other hands. He obtained leave of the lord bishop of the diocese, bishop Williams (his old acquaintance in the religious and ample foundation at St. John's College in Cambridge, and now his neighbour at Bugden), that, *it being the time of the plague and the deplorable city now the common object of the kingdom's prayers, they might be allowed to use the litany every day in the church*, and having once introduced it, he had license to keep it up after the plague, interceding still for the sins of the world, the cause of all its misery. So they divided the prayers of the church into three times a day, and the minister of the next parish called Steeple Gidding was ready to assist them; who was so friendly a man, that they and he were a blessing to each other in the convenient situation of their churches. For as the shepherds lead their sheep in the eastern countries and go before them (to which the scripture[1] alludes, *The sheep hear his voice and follow him*), so this good neighbour of theirs, like a true spiritual guide, walked with his own flock after him to officiate at that church. Thus they began already to taste the delicious fruits of peace and quietness, and they found by this little experience, how much the pleasant solitariness of the place (for their family was in a manner all the parish) contributed to the serenity of their thoughts

[1] John x. 4, 16.

and the piety of their devotions. At this rate they spun out that part of the unhealthy summer and all the long winter at Gidding.

31. But at Easter they made one step to London again (the plague being now ceased), that the good old gentlewoman might take her last leave of all her friends, expecting to see them no more till the great Easter morning at the resurrection: for she was so well pleased with her country privacy, that she resolved by the grace of God to take livery and seisin of her new purchase by laying her bones there, as the first purchase we read of in the world was the burying-place of Sarah[1] the mother of the faithful. So, having let their great house in London, and having done all that they had to do in this world who intended to have no more to do with it, God having blessed them with all the success they could desire in the final settlement of all their earthly concerns, Whitsunday drawing near, and they designing to return to their beloved retirement within a fortnight,—then did this man of God come to a full determination of entering into that religious course of life which he had so long and so ardently thirsted after. The week before Whitsunday he ate sparingly, fasted much, slept little, and on Whitsun-eve was up all night in his closet; but having formerly and frequently done the like, it created nobody's wonder. So, without acquainting any other of his friends with his design

[1] Gen. xxiii.

and intention, for fear they might oppose it, he made only his dear tutor Dr. Linsell his confessor and confidant in this business; who was so ravished with joy to hear the resolution his pupil had so often debated with him in private brought at length to a blessed effect, that he was like one in a dream and could scarce credit his own ears. Now he lived in hopes to see his friend one day a priest, since he was now disposed to be a deacon, and the doctor would often say, *If his scholar would be persuaded to take complete orders and ascend the pulpit, he would then be in his proper orb, and would shine among those who turn many to righteousness*[1].

32. Early on Trinity Sunday[2] he went to king Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster abbey, with his tutor Dr. Linsell, by whom bishop Laud was prepared to receive him there with a very particular esteem and with a great deal of joy, that he was to lay his hands on so extraordinary a person. So he was ordained deacon and no more, for he protested *he durst not advance one step higher.* Toward evening he returned home to his mother and entreated her to hear him read somewhat he had written in vellum and signed with his own hand: he drew it out from the place where he wore it next his heart. It was the solemn vow he had made to Almighty God, that *since He had afforded so many gracious deliverances from so many perilous attempts of the devil and man upon*

[1] Dan. xii. 3.

[2] June 11, 1626.

*his soul and body, and since now his family was rescued from a ruin so deplorable and unavoidable, if God had not been infinitely good to them;—he would now separate himself to serve God in this holy calling, to be the Levite himself in his own house, and to make his own relations, which were many, his cure of souls.* His devout mother and some of his kindred that were present were as much amazed at the beginning, as overjoyed at the end of his discourse. She showered her tears and benedictions upon him, beseeching God *to fill him every day more and more with His Holy Spirit, and to grant him a long life, as an unspeakable blessing to her and her whole family.* They all assured him, that *they also by God's assistance would set themselves with greater care and diligence than ever to attend the one thing necessary*[1].

33. The news of his taking orders was quickly spread over all the city and the court. Some of his friends were apt enough to censure and condemn him for it, all of them wondered at the course he was pleased to take, the best and the wisest applauded him; among whom sir Edwin Sandys had as much veneration for him now, as he had affection for him heretofore. This last excellent person made it his request to him and prevailed, that *he would be overseer of his will,* and he charged his lady (a lady of extraordinary discretion and piety) *to do nothing of any great consequence in the*

[1] Luke x. 42.

*management of the estate without the advice of Mr. Ferrar.* Some lords of the Virginia company, supposing that he would not now refuse preferment in the church, though he had declined advancement in the state;—one offered him a living of £300 a year; another nobleman courted him to accept of one of £400 a year. He returned his most humble acknowledgements to those honourable peers, promising *to pray for their prosperity, but as he had already parted with all propriety in his temporal estate by sharing it equally with kindred for their common good; so he would employ his talent or half-talent (for he alone had a mean opinion of his own abilities) to make them partakers of the true spiritual treasures.*

34. So giving a long farewell to the great and busy world, they all returned to their Little Gidding, where the first thing old Mrs. Ferrar did was to beautify their church. It was repaired and made already decent, but she would have it adorned. So she contrived to have it wainscotted and the floor neatly boarded (as it still continues); and this was done not only for cleanliness but warmth, since they resolved to spend so much of their time in it. She adorned the communion-table with carpets of blue silk embroidered with gold; the pulpit and the reading-desk were hung with fine cloth of the same colour, richly laced and fringed with vallans[1] about

[1] *Valance, Valence, Valency,* or *Vallance.* "A kind of saye, serge or stuff to make curtains for beds with."—Florio *p.* Richardson, q. v.

each of them. She covered the floor upon which the altar was raised with sky-coloured silk, the benches round the chancel with blue taffety; and all the rest was suitable and very noble. But these were ornaments only for Sundays and holydays; there were carpets of tapestry and green cloth for the week-days. There was a brass font set up, and a large eagle of the same to hold a fair bible[1]. She thought the house of God the only place on which such costly furniture was not ill bestowed; and in this her son not only approved but animated her devotion.

35. After thus finishing the church, their next care was to set up a school, and, there being an ancient dove-house belonging to the lordship, they presently dispigeoned it, as thinking it not decent in them, who had no harvest of their own, having turned all into pasture, to harbour so many little thieves to devour their neighbours' corn. So the dove-house was enlarged into a handsome school-

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[1] The font and eagle, a bracket for an hour-glass and brazen tables (containing the creed, commandments, and Lord's Prayer) still remain: of the other ornaments only a silk carpet for the communion-table, and two small fragments of tapestry are preserved. As late, however, as May 9, 1748 (at the parochial visitation of Dr. Neve, archdeacon), there existed "cushions for the reading-desk and pulpit, with hangings about them;" and besides two pieces of plate (the flagon and offertory-dish) still in use, "a cup 7¾ oz., cover 3 oz., inscription round the foot *For the parish of Little Gidding in Hunts;* and a patine 6¾ oz."—(*Register at Gidding.*)

house, where not only their own children were trained up, but those of other parishes upon the request of their parents had liberty to come; where they might learn virtue as well as grammar music and arithmetic, together with fair writing. For which arts and sciences they had three several masters, and these had their several hours to ply their business. Then he fitted all his nieces and female relations, according to their ages and conditions, with chambers closets gardens and walks of pleasure. He fitted up so convenient lodgings for the scholars and for the schoolmasters, and placed his own lodging so in the midst of the house, that he could hear and see good order observed. He provided one room and called it the infirmary, that if any of all his young company should fall sick, they might be removed thither out of harm's way. They had rules and times even for their recreations, and they had places for running and vaulting and shooting at butts with bows and arrows. On Thursday and Saturday part of the afternoons were allowed the children for those pastimes, that the bow might not stand bent continually. The habit of the young women, nine or ten or more of them, was black stuff, all of one grave fashion always the same, with comely veils on their heads. And if ever women merited the title of *the devout sex*, these gentlewomen won it by their carriage and deserved to wear it; though to come to many particulars would so oppress the modesty of some yet alive, that such instances of their devotion are not yet to

be made public. They were curious at their needles, and they made their scissors to serve the altar or the poor. They were fine surgeons[1], and they kept by them all manner of salves oils and balsams: a room they had on purpose to lock up these and cordial waters of their own distilling. All which being as freely given by them to the country folks, as themselves freely received all from God and their kind uncle, they were sure not to want customers; which every year cost them a good round sum. None of them were nice of dressing with their own hands poor people's wounds, were they never so

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1 "When a lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room."—*Life of Hammond* in Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 368; cf. Peckard's note *ibid.* 185. Herbert requires as the second quality in his parson's wife, "a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her own hands; which skill either she brought with her, or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour."—c. x. Again, he says of the parson, "if there be any of his flock sick, he is their physician, or at least his wife, of whom instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other, but to have the skill of healing a wound or helping the sick."—c. xxiii., at the end of which he gives a list of simples and salves used by the parson's wife. Aubrey, 400, 585, Clarke (1677), 417, 418. Mrs. Collett used to send ointments and balsams with the recipes for their composition to her friends, recommending them by her own experience (*Collett Letters MSS.* To lady Bodley, Jan. 2, 1631–2, July 1632, Dec. 10, 1632; to lady Aucher, Dec. 10, 1632, with the grateful reply Jan. 4, 1632–3).

offensive; but as for prescribing physic, their uncle understood it well himself, yet he never practised it, and he forbid them to tamper or meddle with it. And together with helps for the body the virgins were expert and ready to administer good counsels prayers and comforts to their patients for their souls' health. To take off the burthen of household affairs from his aged mother's shoulders, her son ordered his four nieces to be the managers, yet so as it might prove a burthen to none of them, but rather a recreation to them all. He contrived that every sister should be sole governess but one month in four, and then Mary's better part[1] was not to be taken away from her who acted the part of their Martha. Nor was she often called away, being not to apply her hands to anything servile, but only to carry in her head, to give the servants directions and cause herself to be obeyed by them, to book every farthing of their weekly expenses, allowing every small matter its column in their account-book; so they could cast an eye on what they gained or spent in every little necessary at the end of the month or year. This made his nieces, several of whom resolved to marry[2], not only perfect accountants but good housewives too. The land was all let out in parcels to their tenants, who by agreement were to serve the house with some provisions at constant rates. Their diet was neat and frugal, yet with

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[1] Luke x. 42. [2] § 66.

variety enough accommodated to every one's health and constitution.

36. Now from this period of time to write this life is indeed to write many lives, *i. e.* to describe the way and manner how they all lived under the discipline of him that was their chief. And now it may well be expected, that the rule by which he ordered his family should be set down. To begin with the first and the best day of the week;—on the Lord's day they rose as on other days, about five o'clock in winter and four in summer; his good old mother herself would be up at five. Then, having on their bended knees in their several apartments given God thanks for that night's preservation and speedily dressing themselves, they came one after another into the great chamber, which was handsomely furnished with a fair suit of hangings, and in winter a good fire was lighted against their coming: there they found him without fail, their leader to all their exercises both morning and evening. To him the younger people repeated the chapters and psalms they had got by heart, which commonly lasted till about seven o'clock, after which they retired to their own privacy till about nine the bell called them to prayers in the church. Then all the household came together again into the great chamber, where a hymn was sung, the organ playing to it; and so all went to church in order, two and two, according to their ages and conditions. The three schoolmasters in gowns leading the way, the youths in black gowns followed: this good son

led his aged mother, his two brothers going before her, all the children after her, then all the servants; and altogether made up a very solemn procession. The masters took their places in the chancel, the women sat by themselves, as they did in the ancient church[1]. The reading-pew and the pulpit stood opposite to one another, of equal highth[2]. Then this holy deacon in his surplice and hood (for so habited he ever went to church, whither they passed through a close walk, and it was but a few paces thither) stept into the reading-desk and officiated at divine service. After returning home his elder nieces and some others deputed to that office sat in a gallery, if it were summertime, or in winter at the fire in the large room, where the children repeated to them the psalms they had got without book the week before. These children came from neighbouring parishes; to whom notice was given, that such of them as would but take the pains to learn the psalms by heart and come on Sunday morning to

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[1] "Let the women sit apart and keep silence."—*Constit. Apost.* ii. 57. In the Greek church the women sat in galleries (ὑπερῷα, sometimes also κατηχούμενα); in the later Latin church they had the north or right side of the church. See Bingham, viii. 5. §§ 6, 7, 9.

[2] "By his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal highth: for he would often say, *They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that praying and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation.*"—Walton's *Life of Herbert*, xxxii.

repeat them at Gidding, should have each of them a psalter bestowed upon them, and a penny for every psalm they could say perfectly, and their Sunday dinner into the bargain. This drew in many boys and girls, so that an honest divine who frequently visited the place assured me *he had seen forty or fifty children there at a time.* Their parents, who were most of them plain country-folks, were extremely pleased and obliged by it, and quickly not only their parents, but the adjoining ministers when they came to Gidding protested that *a mighty change was wrought not only on the children, but on the men and women who sat hearing their children reading and repeating at home. And whereas heretofore their tongues were exercised in singing either naughty or lewd or else vain ballads, that much estranged their young minds from the ways of virtue; now they heard the streets and doors resounding with the sacred poetry of David's harp which drove away the evil spirit from Saul*[1]. Thus one devout family brought again into their neighbourhood the golden age of the church, as 'tis described by St. Hierom[2], *when every ploughman, every day-labourer*

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[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

[2] "In Christi vero, ut supra diximus, villula tota rusticitas, et extra psalmos silentium est. Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam tenens alleluia decantat, sudans messor psalmis se avocat, et curva attondens vitem falce vinitor aliquid Davidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hac provincia carmina: hæ, ut vulgo dicitur, amatoriæ cantationes. Hic pastorum sibilus:

(says he) *refreshed himself at his toil by singing the psalms, and knew the hour without the sun by the progress he had made in his psalter.* Some of their parents entreated that their children might also be taught their catechism at Gidding, but that he utterly refused, telling them that *bringing children to learn their psalter was a thing by itself, but catechising belonged to their minister and their parents.* He informed them, that, *by doing some things good in appearance, one might do very ill, by encroaching on other men's offices;* and he bid them *have a special care of this fine-trimmed and hidden snare, which the devil everywhere cunningly lays in the way of wellmeaning people, when he cannot persuade them to ugly known sin, then he tempts them to do some handsome thing, which it is not their parts to act, but presumption for them to do it.* The children not only repeated what they had learnt that week and had for every psalm a penny (some of them carrying away groats a-piece or more), but also recited part of what they had formerly learnt, to fix these incomparable devotions in their memories.

37. It now growing half an hour past ten, the minister of the next parish came with his own

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hæc arma culturæ."—*Epist.* xlvi. (*Paulæ et Eust. ad Marcell.* § 11. i. 208). For this reference (and not for this alone) I have to thank my friend, the Rev. A. Jessopp, from whose unwearied zeal we may expect a worthy edition of the works of that most eloquent preacher, duly valued by his contemporaries.—Dr. Donne.

people (which were not many, and most of them tenants) to the lordship at Little Gidding to preach there. The bell rung again to church, and the whole family with the psalms-children (as they called them) met him; and, having taken their places, Mr. Ferrar went up into the chancel, and at the communion-table read second service; which being ended, and a psalm sung, their neighbour minister preached. As they came to the church, so in the same order they came back to the house, where they found long narrow tables ready spread and set upon trestles, the poor children ranking themselves upon each side of the tables. The old gentlewoman did not think herself too good to follow our Saviour's example[1] of girding Himself and serving His disciples; for oftentimes she set the first dish upon the table with her own hands, and, grace being said, the children took their dinners standing at the tables, for sit they did not; and some were left to see all things disposed of in good order, their money having been given them when they said their psalms. Then the bell was rung to dinner in the parlour, and, all the household standing in the great dining-room, a hymn was sung by them, the organs playing. While they were feeding their bodies, one whose turn it was (as every one took his turn) read a chapter in the Bible, that their hearts and ears might not want the better spiritual food. After dinner all had liberty to go whither

[1] John xiii.

they pleased, some to the gardens and orchards, others to their chambers or closets.

38. About two of the clock the bell called them all together, and so they went to Steeple Gidding church to hear evening service. When they came home, they went all into the great chamber and said all their psalms that day at one time, which they said on other days of the week at set hours and at several times. This done, they parted again and disposed of themselves as they listed till supper-time, which was about six at night, when, the bell ringing, they came into the great parlour. The organ began to play, and they to sing their anthem, while the meat was setting on the table. After grace one read a chapter, and another a story out of the Book of Martyrs or some other history. In summertime after supper most of them recreated themselves by walking abroad, or in winter sat by the fire, or those that would went to their own privacies, while the elder people entertained each other with some useful discourse. When it was eight of the clock, it rung to their oratory, where they introduced their meeting by singing an anthem. After their compline (or prayers before bed-time) there they wished one another good-night and went to their several apartments; the younger sort went to bed, and the elder were in their chambers and closets till they went to bed, for it was one of their orders, that *none must after their prayers go up and down the house, but keep in their lodgings.* Such was their Sunday's employment,

very agreeable to his judgement in the doctrine of the Lord's day, as I find his opinion briefly expressed in his own words. *It is*, says he, *a day of rest, not of pleasures; it frees us from bodily labours, but it should the more intend the exercises of the mind. God blessed the day and sanctified it: they must go together; if we would have it happy, we must make it holy; and that can be by nothing better done, than by taking a survey of all God's works according to the two divisions of heaven and earth, whereunto He hath reduced all sorts of generations; and, if it seems too long and hard a matter to go through all, we need but return to ourselves, where we shall find an epitome of all*[1].

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[1] *Man the microcosm;* so Philo (*de opific. mundi*, § 51) says that man's mind is akin to the divine reason, but his body, like the universe, is composed of the four elements; similarly Nemesius (*de nat. hom.* 11, 12, ed. 1671, cap. 1). "Cognoscamus humani corporis fabricam instar esse mundi." —Ambros. *Hexaëm.* vi. § 55. See Gataker on Antonin. iv. § 27, Lobeck's *Aglaopham.* 920 sq., Arnob. ii. 25, Suicer, s. v. μικρόκοσμος. The word *microcosmus* occurs in Aldhelm. *de laud. virg.* 1. (*Bibl. Max. Patr.* xiii. 31 C.) The interpretation of *omnis creatura* mentioned by Mirandula below is given *ib.* x. 302 B. C., xix. 956 B., Aug. *Propos. ex Ep. ad Rom. Expos.* 53: cf. Maldon. and Bez. on Mark xvi. 15. An extract from the Index to the *Bibl. Patr.* will prove the familiar use of the expression in the middle ages. "*Homo* imago mundi. xxvii. 104 G. parvus mundus. viii. 622 B. cur dictus minor mundus. xxi. 182 D. brevis ac contractus mundus. vii. 560 E. alter mundus; ipsius cum priori analogia. xxii. 1289 G. qua ratione mundus. xii. 490 H. mundus mundi.

39. On the first Sunday of the month, and besides on the great solemn festivals, they celebrated

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xxvii. 299 F." "Propter hoc homo dicitur minor mundus quia omnes creaturæ mundi quodammodo inveniuntur in eo." Aquin. *Summ.* I. qu. 91. art. 1. § 4. Cf. Ritter, viii. 307, Goclenius s. v. *Mundus.* The Cabbalists and Paracelsians were zealous supporters of the doctrine. "Est autem præter tres quos narravimus quartus alius mundus, in quo et ea omnia inveniantur, quæ sunt in reliquis; hic ipse est homo, qui et propterea, ut catholici dicunt doctores, in evangelio omnis creaturæ appellatione censetur."—Joann. Pic. Mirandul. *Præf. in Heptapl.* 8. (Opp. Basil. 1557.) Cf. Paracels. *Paragran.* 24, 31, Fludd's *Historia macro- et microcosmi,* Ebert's dissertation (referred to by Walch) *de homine microcosmo,* Leipz. 1709, Van Helmont's *Paradoxal discourses concerning the macrocosm and microcosm,* Lond. 1685. 8vo., Henry More's *Moral Cabbala.* The Rev. Churchill Babington enables me to supply an additional illustration from the stores of his botanical knowledge. "Invaluit apud primos Botanices restitutores symbolica naturæ contemplatio s. *physiognomistica,* a Neapolitano *Porta* in systema absoluta, per quam naturæ ipsius, ut ita dicam, *homœopathia* plantarum vires eruere studuerunt. Inde ortæ sunt perhibitæ vires *Peltigeræ aphthosæ,* ob soredia, contra aphthas, *Pelt. caninæ* contra hydrophobiam, *Usneæ barb. hirtæ* ad capillos firmandos, *U. b. plicatæ* contra plicam polonicam, *Lichenum citrinorum* contra icterum e. s. p., quarum fontes ideo tantum aperire placuit, quod ad nostrum usque ævum in scriptis philanthropico-botanicis repetuntur. Ex idearum sympatheticarum connubio cum superstitiosi ævi, *Paracelso* duce, ortæ sunt portentosæ vires '*Musci cranii humani;*' nec longe abest vis venenata *Evernicæ vulpinæ,* septentrionalibus tantum cognita, cum apud eos in templis tantum obveniat."—Fries, *Lichenographia Europæa,* cxiii, cxiv, § 59. Cf. Rennie's *Introduction* to Montagu's *Ornithological Dictionary* (London, 1831), xxxviii.

the holy communion without fail, and the Saturday afternoon before was employed by the careful master of the house in explaining that sacred mystery to the younger and in exhorting the elder and in preparing them all for the best and noblest entertainment of such holy souls. Upon communion-days the servants that feasted with them at church were not thought unworthy to eat in the parlour with them; it was their custom to sit at the lower end of the high table where they dined that day.

40. On week-days they employed themselves thus. They all got up as early at least as on Sundays; then, after their prayers in secret by themselves, they came into the great chamber abovementioned, where the younger nephews and nieces repeated to Mr. Ferrar himself some of the psalms or chapters they had learnt that week: this done, they retired awhile every one to their closets. At six o'clock, the bell tolling, all of them came again into the common room, and the company that had the charge began the psalms appointed for that hour (for each hour of the day had such a proportion of psalms allotted to be said in it by some part or division of the family, and they all knew their order and time of attendance, so that the whole psalter was duly said over by them verse by verse interchangeably within the compass of the twenty-four hours. Then one of them repeated without book one of the heads of the concordance or harmony which they had made on the four evangelists

(of which more anon). This book was so divided into heads or chapters, and so many of those heads assigned to each hour of the day, that, beginning still on the first day of each month and ending on the last, the gospels were all said over in every month: that was twelve times in the year. A short hymn also was sung each hour, the organs playing to it: the hymn was commonly this,

> So angels sing, and so sing we,
> To God on high all glory be:
> Let Him on earth His peace bestow,
> And unto men His favour shew.

The services for every hour, though they were very solemn, yet were they so framed, as that the collects the psalms the gospels and all lasted but a quarter of an hour.

41. This done, they went all in the order that has been described to prayers in the church, where Mr. Ferrar officiated according to the liturgy, without adding or diminishing a word. By this time the hour of seven was come, which had such another portion of collects psalms portions of the gospel and a hymn ready for it: this was performed by the second company. Then all the children breakfasted and went to the school-house with their masters. The old gentlewoman took her chair inspecting her daughters and grandchildren (*like the olive-branches round about her table*[1]) as they sat at their books or other good employments in great

[1] Psal. cxxviii. 4 (Prayer-book Version).

silence, or at least avoiding *all vain talking and jesting that was not convenient*[1]. No hour but had its business, for so their wise uncle had contrived, who used to tell them that *the golden mean, if one could light upon it, was the only way to effect great things with ease and pleasure*, and this he prayed them to observe even in their spiritual exercises. Some therefore spent part of the day in perfecting their harmony on the scripture or getting it by heart, others practising their singing or playing on instrumental music, some learning to write fair hands or else to cipher, some of them exercising their humility and diligence in gilding and binding of books, for he desired every one that would should be taught a trade. Accordingly he entertained a Cambridge bookbinder's daughter that bound rarely, to shew them that piece of skill[2]. To justify their allowing a part of their time to such mechanic arts, he put them in mind of that passage in the Psalm[3]: *Blessed are all they that fear the Lord and walk in His ways, for thou shalt eat the labour of*

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[1] Ephes. v. 4.

[2] Dr. Basire, writing (Aug. 10, 1636) to his future wife, to whom he had sent the *Introduction to a devout life* and *Marrow of the oracles of God*, says, "The first of them (and so were those of your sisters) were bound by those virgins I once told you of. Who knows but the prayers they might bestow at the binding may do you good at the reading of them?"—*Life and Correspondence* (8vo. 1831), 22. On Dr. Basire's intimacy with the Ferrars see Appendix.

[3] cxxviii. 1, 2.

*thine hands. Whereas the world* (says he) *thinks the living upon rents and other men's labours to be their honour and happiness, David here makes the contrary an effect and sign of blessedness.* He instructed them, that *this was Adam's punishment, but it was also his medicine to cure him of sloth and luxury.* He assured them, that *to handle some intervenient occasions, when one hath consecrated himself to God, doth no more dismount him from his first pitch, than tent-making did St. Paul, even in the midst of his itinerary preaching, or basket-making the most holy recluse men of old, whose holiness amazes posterity*[1]. But to proceed. At

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[1] The Egyptian monks also appealed to St. Paul's example (Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxx. § 6. Cassian. *Inst.* x. 7, 8, &c.). They had a memorable proverb, *The busy monk is assaulted by one devil, the idle is a prey to a legion* (Cassian. *ibid.* 23). Compare the words of Jerome to the monk Rusticus: "Facito aliquid operis, ut te semper diabolus inveniat occupatum. Si Apostoli habentes potestatem de Evangelio vivere, laborabant manibus suis, ne quem gravarent.... cur tu in usus tuos cessura non præpares? *Vel fiscellam texe junco, vel canistrum lentis plecte viminibus:* sarriatur humus: areolæ æquo limite dividantur; in quibus quum olerum jacta fuerint semina vel plantæ per ordinem positæ, aquæ ducantur irriguæ.... Inserantur infructuosæ arbores.... Apum fabricare alvearia.... Texantur et lina capiendis piscibus; scribantur libri ut et manus operetur cibum et animus lectione saturetur. Ægyptiorum monasteria hunc morem tenent, ut nullum absque operis labore suscipiant, non tam propter victus necessitatem quam propter animæ salutem."—*Epist.* 125, § 11 (i. 939, 940). "Simulque *fiscellas junco texens* æmulabatur Ægyptiorum

eight nine and ten o'clock they did as at other hours. Just after their office for ten it rung to church, where only then the litany was said every day in the week, as their bishop had given them leave. At eleven o'clock the set for that hour did as the rest had done. Such was their business on working-days in the morning.

42. About this time was their dinner-time and as the meat was bringing in and setting on the table below, in the large parlour they sung a hymn to the organ. When grace was said and they all had taken their places, one of the youths whose turn it was read to them out of some English history; for silence at meals they thought unpleasant, and common discourse they thought unprofitable. It was therefore agreed, that *something delightful and easy, as stories of sea-voyages, descriptions of foreign countries and accounts of revolutions that happened in them, should be reserved for a time when men do not willingly admit of any*

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monachorum disciplinam et Apostoli sententiam dicentis, *Qui autem non operatur, non manducet.*"—Id. *Vit. Hilarionis*, § 5. (ii. 16.) "Si aut fiscellam junco texerem, aut palmarum folia complicarem, ut in sudore vultus mei comederem panem, . . . nullus morderet . . . Pro flabello calathis sportellisque, munusculo monachorum, spiritualia hæc et mansura dona suscipite." —Id. *Præf. ii. in Job* (x. 47). Cf. Theodoret. *Relig. Hist.* iii. 827 B, Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 32 (in Meurs. *Opp.* viii. 442). There is a lively picture of the Egyptian monks of Nitria and Scepsis in Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* i, and another in Mr. Kingsley's *Hypatia.*

*very serious and deep speculations.* This was a way not only to refresh, but also to enrich their minds, especially with examples innumerable tending to stir up generous and good affections. For the better retaining in memory what should be read, it was ordered that *a summary collection should be taken of all the passages worthy their observation:* the drawing of this abstract was one of the schoolmasters' tasks, and the transcribing fair was put upon some of the scholars. Besides this, every noon presently after collation a repetition was made of something formerly read, the same matter, only dressed up in another form: that is, one of the boys, whose course it was that meal, repeated a story compiled on purpose for him and fitted to his capacity by Mr. Ferrar. It was short, pleasant, the language good, the matter better, and always drawn into consequence, to increase their abhorrence of vice and promote virtue. This practice brought the youths to deliver any speech with a becoming assurance, and not only taught them a graceful pronunciation but inured them to express themselves handsomely and without affectation, when they spoke or wrote after such excellent copies of a chaste and clean style as Mr. Ferrar had set them. This made them men betimes, and even acquainted the women with the histories ancient and modern. And thus a family sequestering itself from the world could not be thought to despise the world for want of understanding it, for they knew the past and present state of empires and were more learned

in the great affairs of human life, than many that live in the throng of business, yet have little insight into things and less into themselves, notwithstanding the great scuffle in the dark, which they are ever engaged in and never the wiser.

43. They kept a fair correspondence with their neighbours and the gentlemen of the county, yet seldom or never made any idle excursions abroad to see them: for at their entering upon this estate at Gidding it was the plague time, and because they came from London, that did (according to their own wishes) put a stop to much intercourse with their neighbours all that year. And by that time all within view of them understood their design of living very retired, and so they dispensed with them in those punctilios of ceremony; yet had they no provocation to censure them as morose or uncivil, for, whenever they were pleased to afford their company at Gidding (which for the novelty of the thing many did frequently), they were received with all the obligingness and treated with all the respect, that according to the rules of decency and discretion was to be observed towards them. A glass of wine or a tankard of ale was offered to all comers of any note; but though many of greater quality lingered there, as if they had a mind to stay their meals[1] or take up their lodging with them, yet they took it not amiss at their departure to the

[1] So Lenton; see his letter in the preface.

towns adjoining, that no invitation was given them, finding it was not their custom to entertain strangers at that rate, unless their intimate acquaintance or in cases of necessity and charity. Had they done otherwise, they would have been overladen with such a multitude of guests, as they could not civilly, nor indeed possibly, have avoided. Yet some men of birth and fortune (as they discovered themselves by their gentle behaviour and discourses, and as they were known to be afterwards), led by a longing desire of seeing this wonderful person and the orders of his family, have sent their servants into the neighbouring villages to wait them there next morning; whilst themselves strayed all alone in the dark to Gidding, pretending they lost their way and entreating a night's lodging. Such adventurers as these were quickly set down to an extemporary supper, such as their oven supplied, of warm baked meats, of which they were seldom unprovided. This I was told by one of those wandering guests, who often celebrated that night's entertainment.

44. His seat at Gidding stood hard by the northern road, which drew great numbers, as well of the gentry as clergy, to call upon him, as they passed and repassed that way: many that were perfectly unknown to him, but knew his merit, found one pretence or other to introduce themselves. Several persons of honour and many great scholars of other persuasions (Romish priests and the like) addressed themselves to discourse with him and discover his opinions, in which he had no reserves

as one exactly well set in his principles for the most apostolical church of England. He, without inquiring who they were, always entertained them with a generous freedom and calmness in their debates and with all the hospitable courtesy suitable to the condition in which they appeared. The next gentleman in the neighbourhood was a Roman catholic, yet he and his lady visited often at Gidding without any pressing expectations to be paid those respects in the same kind by a family so constantly better employed than in returning compliments; besides, the master of their morals used to warn them all, but especially the younger people under his care, that *he is wise and good and like to continue so, that keeps himself out of temptation.*

45. One day this neighbouring gentleman brought along with him to Gidding three learned priests (one of whom a famous writer for the church of Rome) all of them full of curiosity to sound a man of such reaching parts and of so remarkable a devotion, as fame had rendered Mr. Ferrar to be. He declined not engaging with them, in which he was upon a vast advantage above ordinary managers of our controversy, having in his travels with his own eyes seen their practices and made it so much his business to compare them with their pretences. The conference spun itself out to a great length, and was carried on all hands with equal temper, and with such acuteness too, as not to leave the question where they found it. They traversed every considerable point in difference

between us and them, and parted upon such terms as were proper for such as desired maintenance of communion, or at least of charity, with one another. One of them afterwards related with much ingenuity that *he had been at Little Gidding, the place so much in everybody's mouth;* that *they found the master of the house another kind of man than they expected, a deep and solid man, of a wonderful memory, sharp-witted and of a flowing eloquence, one who besides his various reading spoke out of experience, with insight into things, as well as books.* In conclusion he was heard to say, that *this man* (*if he lived to make himself known to the world*) *would give their church her hands full to answer him, and trouble them in another manner than Luther had done.*

46. I have given this larger account of him and his other recluses as to their openness and easiness of conversation to prevent the common objection against this way of living, that *it is pity such holy men should deprive the world of their company and example.* It was not then so necessary for so illustrious a saint to go out into the troublesome world (though he intended it one day, as shall be related anon[1]), when the world came after him, hundreds

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[1] This does not appear in our life; perhaps the design was that confided by N. F. to Copeland, a minister in the Somer Islands, who "informed sir E. Sandys and others of the company, that *he verily believed Mr. Ferrar was determined sometime to leave the old world and settle in Virginia, and there*

and thousands at several times, hardly one day passing in which some considerable person (either friend or stranger) did not come to pay him reverence, as of old they did to the Anthonys[1] and the Hilarions[2] and others the fathers of the church and desert. And careful as he was of spending his precious time to the highest advantage, yet he always gave order, that *if any came to speak with him, though he were at his study, they should let him know it, for he well hoped they came for his good or their own, and the whole design of his life was to make himself or others better.* Seldom any parted

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*employ the extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him and spend his life in the conversion of the natives or other infidels in that country;* adding, *If he should do so, I will never forsake him, but wait upon him in that glorious work.*"—Peckard, 106, 107.

[1] "Audiens autem tunc celebre nomen Antonii, quod per omnes Ægypti populos ferebatur, incensus visendi ejus studio, perrexit ad eremum. . . . Porro frequentiam eorum, qui ad eum ob varias passiones aut impetus dæmonum concurrebant, ultra non ferens, nec congruum esse ducens, pati in eremo populos civitatum."—S. Hieronym. *Vit. Hilarion.* § 3.

[2] See his life in St. Jerome, ii. 13 sq. "Necdum enim tunc monasteria erant in Palæstina nec quisquam monachum ante sanctum Hilarionem in Syria noverat. Ille fundator et eruditor hujus conversationis et studii in hac provincia fuit."—19, 20. § 14. "Concurrebant episcopi, presbyteri, clericorum et monachorum greges, matronarum quoque Christianarum (grandis tentatio) et hinc inde ex urbibus et agris vulgus ignobile: sed et potentes viri, et judices, ut benedictum ab eo panem vel oleum acciperent. At ille nihil aliud nisi solitudinem meditabatur, &c."—29. § 30. Cf. Tillemont, vii. 564 sq.

from him but with satisfaction, and it can hardly be imagined what lasting fervours of devotion many carried away with them, that spent but a few hours in that happy society. For it was one establishment in this family, which had set itself thus heartily for heaven, whatever strangers were in the house (though some perhaps of a different communion), yet that they would keep their set times of going to prayers in the church. And if such as came to see their devotions were pleased to join with them, they were a great deal the more welcome on that account. Some indeed, who came only to gaze, with no great design to improve by his example, have taken upon them to tell him their grave judgement, that *he lived too retired, exacted too much of his own infirm body, studied too hard, whereas a life of pleasure and recreation would better preserve him in health.* He gave those to know, that *what the world called living gallantly and most like a gentleman, to eat and drink well (as they call it), to keep as irregular hours as they please of rising and going to bed, to have their time so lie upon their hands as to spend a considerable part of it in hunting or hawking, carding or dicing, riding abroad upon visits and doing all things accordingly;* —he protested *such a life to him (whatever it be to others) would be so dangerous as, if it were put to his choice, and he must instantly choose, whether he would enter upon that course of life or presently suffer death, he would forthwith embrace the latter rather than accept the former.*

47. But now I am mentioning how they received a world of visits, I must not forget what honour was coming toward them by a visit the queen intended them, if she had not been hindered accidentally, because the ways were impassable cross the country, and the orders issued out for making a way thither ill observed. Whereupon (she fancying the king had all the while but rallied her with a story of a protestant family that outdid the severest monastics abroad) the queen was pleased to dispatch a gentleman[1] to Little Gidding, commanding him to take exact notice of what he found and bring her a clear account of their manner of life; which he did so much to the admiration of the queen, that she very much regretted the disappointment of her own journey. But at the breaking out of the late rebellion, as his majesty was marching into the north, when he set up his royal standard at Nottingham, the most excellent king, being told that he was not far from Gidding, was so gracious as to strike out of his way, and rode directly thither accompanied with the prince of Wales (his sacred majesty that now is) together with his highness prince Rupert, the duke of Richmond, and many others of the valiant and loyal nobility that attended him in that expedition. The king took a view of all with a curious eye and in the midst of his perplexed affairs spent a good deal

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[1] Mr. Newton, says Dr. Turner.

of time in reading their harmonies on the gospel, while the prince and the lords refreshed themselves with such plain entertainment as their house in so great a surprise afforded. They humbly presented his majesty and his royal relations with some devout books, which they had bound so neatly with their own hands, that the king was pleased to say, *he never saw such workmanship.* At parting, he prayed *the blessing of God might be upon them,* and he desired their hearty prayers; wherein they never failed him at the public offices in their little chapel, till by the fury of the oppressor they were driven away.

48. It was upon the second of November (then Friday[1]) that he first began to feel some weakness and faintness upon him, but without any pain; so he went to church that morning and officiated as he used to do. But the same day he sent for his friend the minister of Great Gidding, whom he then requested to come every day and read prayers for him. *For,* said he, *that's my first care, that the service of my God be not one day neglected by those that can go to the church; for I know,* said he, *that I shall not be able to perform my part there any more.* At this his family had very sad and dreadful apprehensions, which being discernible in their looks, he preached to them patience and resignation. Some urging him to tell them *upon what reasons*

[1] Friday was the *third* in 1637.

*he seemed to be so confident that the time of his dissolution was at hand; To satisfy you,* said he, *I shall tell you one; in all former sicknesses I have ever had a strong desire to live and an earnestness to pray God to spare me, which He hath hitherto done when all hopes of life were passed by the judgement of most skilful physicians: and I may farther say to the glory of His Great Name, I never earnestly set myself to beg anything of God but He fulfilled the petition of His most unworthy servant: but now of late I have not any inclination to beg longer life of God; nay, I rather desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ*[1].

49. About three days before his death, as he lay in his sick-bed about eight o'clock in the morning, he called for his brother John and his other relations and thus he spoke. *Brother, I would have you go to the church and at the west end, at the door where we go into the church, I would have you measure from the half-pace of stairs that you tread upon seven feet to the westward, and at the end of that seven feet there let my grave be made.* His brother looking extremely sad upon him and almost drowned in tears (as were all the standers-by), he went on, saying: *That first place of the length of seven feet I leave for your own burying-place; you are my elder brother; God I hope will let you there take up your resting-place till we all*

[1] Philipp. i. 23.

*rise again in joy. When you have measured out the place for my grave, then go and take out of my study those three great hampers full of books, that stand there locked up these many years* (for so they were at his first coming to Gidding, that nobody might make use of them or see them; they were not only many scores but many hundreds in several languages, which he in all places had procured with great search and at no little cost: they were comedies, tragedies, love-hymns, heroical poems, novels and the like). *Carry the hampers*, said he, *to the place of my grave, and upon it see you burn them all:* and this he spoke with some vehemence and indignation. *Go, let it be done, let it be done, and then come again all of you to me.* He was obeyed. The bonfire flaming out upon the hill where the church and house stood, many from the towns adjoining and the men that were at their labour in the fields came running up to the house, imagining some great fire had happened at Little Gidding. When they saw what was done, they went away and reported that *abundance of books was burnt*, and that *Mr. Ferrar lay a-dying.* Within a few days it was spread about the market-towns that *he could not die till he burnt all his conjuring-books;* and this, to blast his reputation, was by some factious wretches confidently written and dispersed as far as Virginia and Bermudas among his old acquaintance, who notwithstanding never believed the fable. Indeed in his youth he had found them very bewitching, though no conjuring-books, there-

fore he would execute a judgement of zeal upon them, as some of those early converts to Christ did at Ephesus[1]; *many of them that used curious arts brought their books together and burnt them before all men.* Sure I am that renowned Italian wit Æneas Sylvius[2] (that was afterwards pope of Rome by the name of Pius the second) having in his youth set forth some immodest things, he retracted them in his old age, entreating all men *to prefer his latter advices before his former madness and rashness.* And as our noble Sydney[3] on his death-bed

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[1] Acts xix. 19.

[2] "Tractatum de amore olim sensu pariterque ætate juvenes cum nos scripsisse recolimus, Carole fili dilectissime, pœnitentiam immodica pudorque ac mœror animum nostrum vehementer excruciant: quippe qui sciamus quique protestati expresse fuimus, duo contineri in eo libello, apertam videlicet, sed heu lascivam nimis prurientemque amoris historiam, et morale, quod eam sequitur, ædificans dogma.... De amore igitur quæ scripsimus olim juvenes, contemnite, o mortales, atque respuite, sequimini quæ nunc dicimus, et seni magis quam juveni credite. Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam pontificem: Æneam rejicite, Pium suscipite."—Æn. Sylv. *Epist.* 395. The *Historia de Euryalo et Lucretia se amantibus* (*Epist.* 114), seems however to have been written when the author was nearly forty (*Epist.* 113).

[3] "In that memorable testament of his he bequeathed no other legacy, but the fire, to this unpolished embryo."—Fulke Grevile's *Life of Sydney* (ed. Brydges), 13. "He was not so fond of his *Arcadia* as the bishop Heliodorus of his amorous book, for he desired when he died (having first consulted with a minister about it) to have had it suppressed."—

gave order that *his Arcadia should be suppressed and consumed to ashes, lest it should prove an incentive to amorous passions*, as many since have found it, and wished they had never seen it, as it spoiled their dying quietly: so did our dying saint at Gidding (who long ago was dead to the censure of the world and had no longer any human thoughts about him) take the generous shame which St. Ambrose calls *rationabilis ardor*. When his brother and the company that was to do the execution by fire upon his plays returned to his bed-side, assuring him *they had done the deed*, then he suddenly raising himself sat up in his bed, and gave God most hearty thanks, and upon the same subject he wrote the following meditation.

50. That *the idolatry of the heathens is more shamefully and injuriously to the Divine Majesty practised among profane Christians under the name of love, than in old time to Venus and Adonis.* And in another place, *We silly Christians*, saith he, *hold the least taint of lust such a defiling as should be washed off with the hot water of tears, and these elevated spirits esteem it a gallantry to set their lasciviousness out in prospective to men and angels.*

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Leigh's *Treatise of Religion and Learning*, &c. (fol. 1656.) 324.

"Fontaine and Chaucer, dying, wished unwrote
The sprightliest efforts of their wanton thought;
Sydney and Waller, brightest sons of fame,
Condemn the charm of ages to the flame."

Young's *Second Epistle to Pope.*

*But this is nothing in respect of that transcendent blasphemy they use with God, investing their mistress with those attributes, which we tremblingly lift up our eyes to look upon. As for their souls, because they are their own, they think they may dispose of them as they please, when they offer them in vassalage to filth and rottenness; for no better is the beauty and pleasure they professedly adore. And for epigrams satires and comedies, they are much of the same nature, girding and scoffing at all persons under a pretence of correcting vice, railing on authority and traducing of virtue upon some colours of inconvenience that follows upon some great and good men's actions and opinions, or at least upon some incongruity they observe in themselves.*

51. A general decay of spirits grew upon him, but all the powers and faculties of his soul were as active and lively as at any time of his most vigorous health. On Sunday morning he received with great desire and affection the holy communion, making a most solemn confession of his faith and trust in Jesus, renouncing all pretence of meriting anything, and saying, *when men had done all, they must truly acknowledge themselves to be unprofitable*[1]. The divine who ministered to him declared *he never heard so excellent a discourse, and he thought he never should hear the like expressions again.* He passed the days and nights in heavenly counsels to

[1] Luke xvii. 10.

the family, representing to them that *he was going to God to give an account of what he had taught them*, assuring them *it was according to His holy word;* exhorting them *to rely upon God and to serve Him in sincerity both of soul and body, for,* said he, *God made both, and both must worship Him with reverence;* persuading them *to adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England, to persevere in that good old way* (which were his very words, for, having set up for primitive Christianity, he counted popery as well as puritanism arrant novelty); admonishing the younger sort, whom he looked upon as suns in the high-noon of their Christian course, and who had compassed much of heaven already, that *there was as much more of it before their eyes, which must also be the travail of their souls;* and, stooping to the capacities of the very children (his sister's children), he strove to leave deep impressions of the love and fear and service of God upon their tender dispositions, reminding them *to keep their psalms and gospels*[1] *in their hearts,* setting before their eyes *how many blessings God would return upon them,* and fervently calling upon God *to keep them in His holy protection.*

52. Many divines in the neighbourhood came to visit the sick, or rather to learn of him how to behave themselves with an humble greatness in the like visitation. First he would entreat them *to*

[1] See § 76.

*join in some short collects with him,* then *to proceed with such discourse as was fit for dying men.* One of them began after this manner: *Sir, what joy may you now have of the many almsdeeds you have done;* and then he would have gone on to number them, but the good man presently cut him off thus: *What speak you of such things? it would have been but a suitable return for me to have given all I had, and not to have scattered a few crumbs of alms here and there: God forgive, I most humbly beseech Him, my too much carnal love to my friends in this kind.* Another day one entertaining him out of the church's office[1], *whether,* said he, *that sickness be for the trial of your patience, or for your sins, or for our punishment.* At the addition of that word he was much displeased, beseeching him *to speak at that rate no more, for he was a most miserable sinner.* Once in his sickness overhearing his elder brother bemoaning his and the family's infinite loss, if God should take from them this man of God, and in his excess of grief concluding thus: *Alas! what shall become of us poor sheep, if the shepherd be taken away?* his profound humility was so wounded, that they should put so much of their trust in him, that presently calling his elder brother to his bed-

[1] "For what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you; whether it be to try your patience for the example of others, ... or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your heavenly Father."—*Exhortation in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.*

side, *O my brother*, said he with some passion, *what mean you to use that undue expression? Go, I pray you, go to the church and fast this day, and beg of God to forgive you.* Sunday being come again, he found himself more and more declining, and heartily wishing to be released, he fervently prayed, saying, *Why stay I here longer, Lord, who can do little now but take my ease and sleep? Lord, in Thy good time receive my soul;* and amongst other divine sentences out of the Psalms, this[1] he repeated almost in every breath, *Haste Thee, O God, to deliver me; make haste to help me, O God.* This Sunday was the first Sunday of the month[2], the constant day for their monthly communion, therefore he entreated the minister that *after he had celebrated at the church, he would come home and consecrate again for him, since now the heavenly table was his only support, for he had done with the earthly.* When the priest advanced to give him the sacrament, he first entreated his priestly absolution, having again made a full and lively confession of his faith and state of soul. *Shall I give you absolution*, said the divine, *in the words of the book*[3]*? Aye,*

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[1] Psal. lxx. 1. [2] Dec. 3. Advent Sunday.

[3] "Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."—*Absolution in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.*

*aye*, said he, *nothing better, nothing better.* Then with an exalted affection he received the sacrament, and afterwards offered up his most humble thanks for that most inestimable benefit, uttering to the same purpose many powerful and divine words, as one that had no longer any human thoughts about him. But afterward he applied himself again to the work in which he resolved to live and die, and that was, confirming his family in the ways of piety, more particularly directing this last sermon of his to his most beloved nieces, his two virgin disciples, that *they should be stedfast and commit themselves to the guidance of their Lord God and Jesus Christ their Master.*

53. After midnight, having lain still a good while, he spake a little, and observing those about him, that they did not hear him, he said with a loud voice, *What, doth my speech fail? O sweet Jesus, let it not fail me to the last, I beseech Thee.* Then being asked *if the divines should be called* (who not long before had been gone out of his chamber, supposing him asleep), he said, *Entreat them to come and pray together.* When they came in, he desired them *to say that prayer for a dying man;* which ended and they inquiring *how he did?* he said, *Pretty well, I thank my God and you, and I shall be better.* Then he lay very still about half an hour, all standing about his bed, supposing him to be in a fine slumber, but he on a sudden casting his hands out of bed with great strength, looking up and round about him with a strong and cheerful

voice said, *Oh! what a blessed change is here! What a change is here! What do I see! O let us come and sing and praise the Lord and magnify His Name together. I have been at a great feast. O magnify the Lord with me.* One of his nieces presently said, *At a feast, dear father?* *Yea*, replied he, *at the Great King's feast*, with a sound and perfect accent, as if he had ailed nothing. While all stood somewhat amazed and loth to interrupt him, if he should say more, he laid himself down quietly, and, putting his hands into the bed, he stretched them out by his side and closed his eyes. The clergy went again to prayers, and after a while they said that prayer, all kneeling round about his bed, that *God would be pleased to send His holy angels to carry his soul to heaven.* Whilst these very words were saying, he opened his lips and gave one gasp, after which, not once moving or stirring hand or foot, he rendered his soul to be carried in their hands into the arms of the Lord Jesus. And at that instant the clock struck one[1], the hour that he constantly rose every morning to praise God and to pray unto Him:—that very hour God called him to His heavenly kingdom, to praise Him *with an innumerable company of angels and with the spirits of just men made perfect*[2]. And, as one of the company said, *he ended the Christian sabbath here upon earth to begin the everlasting one in heaven.*

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[1] Monday, Dec. 4, 1637.

[2] Heb. xii. 22, 23.

54. His body was kept till the Thursday after[1], during which time it never swelled nor purged at all, but was a fair corse and inoffensive; no doubt an effect of his extraordinary temperance. But one thing was very observable to all, that his right arm hand and fingers were as flexible and limber as those of a living man, and continued so at his putting into the coffin; whereas his other arm and the rest of his body was stiff and not to be bended as this was, which one might take and turn like a hand in which the blood circulated freely, to the wonder of many that saw it. But one that beheld and admired it was heard to say, *Well may that hand not grow stiff, that was so liberal in giving alms continually to the poor and needy.*

55. He was buried in a vault of brick at the west end of the church, before the entering into it, as he had appointed. His worthy friend and kinsman Mr. Robert Mapletoft[2], the late reverend dean of Ely, preached his funeral sermon and performed the office at his burial.

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[1] Dec. 7.

[2] Rt. M. of Queen's B.A. 1628–9, M.A. 1632: of Pembroke, B.D. 1639, D.D. 1664. See above, 109.

56. The book was divided into a hundred and forty heads. He every day spent one hour in contriving it, and directed his nieces that attended him, in what manner they should cut the pieces out of the Evangelist, and so and so to lay them together as to make and perfect such a head or chapter. When they had first cut out those pieces with their knives or scissors, then they did neatly and exactly fit each verse that was so cut out to be pasted down on sheets of paper; and so artificially they performed it, that it looked like a new kind of printing to all that saw the books, when they were finished; so finely were all the pieces joined together, and with great presses for that purpose pressed down upon the white sheets of paper. The frontispiece and title of the book was this:

The actions &c. [as above, 111, 112.]

But the work grew daily into greater perfection by the care and judgement of Mr. Ferrar; nay, the old gentlewoman herself became a handicraft-woman to help it forward.

57. The fame of this performance was so great, that the king in his progress, lying at Apethorp seven miles from Little Gidding, dispatched a gentleman, one of his servants, to *entreat* (which was the very word of that gracious prince) *a sight of that concordance, which he heard was so great a rarity;* promising *to send it back again ere many*

*days passed, after he should have perused it.* Mr. Ferrar being at that very time by an extraordinary necessity of business called up to London, the family consulted and concluded *his majesty's pleasure ought to be readily obeyed, though they thought so mean a piece unworthy the sight of a king.* The gentleman, apprehending some demur about the delivery of the book, protested, *if he had it not then, he knew the king before he slept would send him again for it.* So he carried it with him to court; but it was not a few days, but several months, before the same gentleman brought back the book from the king, who was pleased to send him with it on purpose from London to Gidding. He acquainted them at his coming, that *he had many things in charge from the king his master to say to them: first, to give them his majesty's hearty thanks for lending him the book; then to signify his great goodliking of it, as of a thing that exceeded the report of it or his expectation; then to excuse him for returning it no sooner, and for apostyling*[1] *or writing his own remarks upon it in many places*

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[1] From the Fr. *Apostiller*, to make a marginal note (see Mozin's *Dict. Fr. Allem.*) The form *postill* is more usual in English (Richardson and Todd's Johnson). Menage's derivation (*posita, posta, postilla*, or *apposta, appostilla*, 'a small note written by the side—on the margin,') is much more probable than Vossius's *post illa*, 'comments written after the text.' "All which are apostilled in the margin with the king's own hand."—Laud's *Troubles and Tryal*, 524. The substantive *apostills* occurs *ibid.* 525.

*of the margin.* The gentleman added that *the king took such delight in it, that no day passed wherein he did not spend some time in reading or noting it. Lastly,* said he, *I am to request you from his majesty, that he may have one of those books for his own use.* Whereupon the gentlewomen set about it, and in a year's time they finished one for the king, binding it with their own hands after a fashion altogether new and extraordinary. Which being presented by the lord archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Laud) and Dr. Cosins the then master of Peterhouse in Cambridge, the king admired the rare contrivance for the mechanical part within and without and for the curious pictures, but most of all for the exquisite method, that brought the gospel story into the most perfect harmony that ever was framed. After a full view he was pleased to say, *it was a present for the greatest king upon earth.*

58. And then turning to my lord of Canterbury, *What think you,* said he, *my lord? shall I obtain a second favour from these good people? I have another suit to them: the matter is this. I often read over the lives and actions of the kings of Judah and of Israel in the books of Kings and the Chronicles; the latter was a supply to the former, and in them I find some difficulties in the reconciling them together. I should desire that these good people would make me such a book, as would bring these two books into one full and perfect history, and yet so as I may see them each several and apart at the same time to be read; they will easily under-*

*stand my mind, I know. Will you let them know my pleasure?* And so my lord's grace and Dr. Cosins assured the king, *it should be done.* And intimation hereof being sent to Gidding, they presently fell to their work, which was completely finished[1] in another year, bound up in purple velvet richly gilt, and by Mr. John Ferrar's own hand presented to the king, who in the mean time had often demanded *when his book would be ready?* The king upon the sight and perusal of it expressed himself most graciously in these words. *This book in all kinds far surpasses my hopes and is done in a far more excellent way of composure, than I conceived it could have been: I shall make it my companion. Herein I shall daily behold God's infinite mercies and His just judgements, His rewards of the good kings, His punishing of the evil kings, His promisings and threatenings surely accomplished. Now, I must needs say, I have gained a second treasure; their care their skill and their cost have been superlative. And so let them know my esteem of it.* After much discourse about it and about their way of living, the king concluded thus: *How happy a prince were I, if there were many such families in my kingdom, that would employ themselves as those do at Gidding.* The title of the book was this:

The history &c. [as above, 112.]

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[1] In the Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5903 is the Concordance of the books of Kings and Chronicles made by the Ferrars in 1637.

59. The glebe at Little Gidding had been alienated time out of mind, and one of those wicked compositions that are now so frequent was agreed to be paid the minister as a compensation for glebe and tithes, £20 a year for both. But this wise purchaser, who meant to have the kingdom of heaven into the bargain, after a long search, at length discovered how many acres had once been glebelands; but it was impossible to find where those acres lay before the inclosure, which was made a hundred years before their coming thither. Therefore Mr. Ferrar was never at rest, till he procured a decree in chancery for allotting and laying out in their lordship the same number of acres for glebe in the most convenient places[1].

60. As he went sometimes to wait upon bishop Williams as their diocesan at Bugden, so the bishop, as his old acquaintance[2] and as the visitor of their little academy, gave them the honour of his company several times at Gidding. Once he had a solemn invitation and accepted it, in order to a solemn confirmation not only of the many young

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[1] "The larger glebe is about seventeen acres and a half, the less, five acres and one rood as measured for me, W. Robinson."

[2] § 30.

people in the family, but of the gentry and others in the neighbourhood who desired so great a blessing. His lordship was entertained at the church with cathedral music, and care was taken that most of the choir of Peterborough came over on purpose. The bishop preached himself before the confirmation, and after, with all the retinue and neighbouring divines and strangers, which were very numerous, he was treated with a noble dinner in the manor-house. The master of the house, notwithstanding his exemplary temperance and frugality, was not so strait-laced, as not to be a lover of hospitality: he knew there was a time for feasting, as well as fasting. Yet I have been assured scarce any one of the servants were left at home; for only their great ovens were employed, a fine cheap easy way he brought with him out of Holland of dressing meat, and such meat as the most curious palates there applauded, but admired how they cooked it. The bishop surveyed the house; their orders and manner of living he understood before, and highly approved them. At his departing he gave them all his paternal benediction again, and, straitly embracing Mr. Ferrar, took his leave of him with this hearty good-wish and prayer: *Deus tibi animum istum et animo isti tempus longissimum concedat.*

61. At length he had brought his habits of body as well as of mind even to obey him as he pleased, so that he was able to spend eighteen hours of the twenty-four in useful business serious study devout prayers or heavenly meditations. He would

seldom sit by a fire, or sit at all in his study; walking or standing at a desk to read or write was commonly his posture, and many things he penned all the while kneeling upon his knees.

62. Whilst his good mother was alive, she laboured him often to abate of his rigours in watching, till he satisfied her abundantly, that *as it was the greatest refreshment and highest advantage to his soul, so it did his body no harm;* and that *he had such a constitution by himself, as the least excess in sleeping or eating*[1] *endangered him more than anything.* But after the death of his mother, who, as the venerable foundress and governess of their religious house, overruled him into a little more indulgence to himself, then he seldom went to bed above once a week only. He lay down upon the floor, and a bear-skin under him, wrapping himself in a great shag gown of black frieze. Yet he felt no decay of his strength in the last seven years of his life, and all this while his health was rather improving than impairing in the midst of his austerities.

63. Though he was far from one of the volatile or *bird-witted* (as one ingeniously calls that sort of men, that are ever hopping from bough to bough and can never fix upon anything), yet he would

[1] When Cornaro, at the entreaty of his friends, increased his daily allowance of food from twelve to fourteen ounces, his health so rapidly failed him, that he was forced within a fortnight to return to his former stint. See Herbert's *Remains*, 125 seq.

never be long in any of his studies or in any employment, but keep (as exactly as his many accidental occasions would give him leave) such and such hours for such and such affairs; and out of doubt this was best for his body and mind. 'Tis certain he found a real advantage in shifting the scenes, besides a new pleasure and refreshment at every turn, though, if occasion were, he could set himself day and night to any task and never give over, till he could say, *'Tis perfect.*

64. And that we may not imagine this house was the house of mourning; as the master of it had ever an air of sweetness and cheerfulness in his very aspect, so he took care to provide them useful and delightful entertainments. If any pitied them (as one did the primitive Christians in Minucius Felix[1]), because they saw no plays nor ever were seen upon the theatres, yet, without the danger of being at all corrupted, they were equally diverted and instructed by divine interludes dialogues and discourses in the Platonic way, that admirable way of drawing the truth out of another's ignorance. These innocent and profitable entertainments and recreations he introduced to wean the family off

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[1] "Latebrosa et fugax natio, in publicum muta, in angulis garrula."—*Oct.* 8, § 5. "Vos vero suspensi interim atque solliciti, honestis voluptatibus abstinetis: non spectacula visitis, non pompis interestis."—12, § 5. Cf. 37, § 11. Many parallels from other apologists may be found in the commentators or in Le Nourry's *Dissertation*, c. xiii. art. 1.

from the Christmas games[1] and wilder sports, which could hardly subsist without riot and extravagant license. Therefore he bid them *call those things as they were, carnal excesses and spiritual prejudices;* saying, that *sure it must be some other deity they intended to honour by those means; and though their* heart and flesh too should rejoice, *saith David*[2], *on this score, yet take it with what follows, it is* in the Living God *that such mirth and jubilees are to be exercised:* that *the allowance of better cheer on festivals should be only so far, as might serve to the increase of this ascending joy.* On All-Saints'-

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[1] Prynne complains that the English "for the most part spend the Christmas season with other solemn festivals in amorous, mixed, voluptuous, unchristian, that I say not, pagan dancing, to God's, to Christ's dishonour, religion's scandal, chastity's shipwreck, sin's advantage, and the eternal ruin of many precious souls."—*Histriom.* 225. "What pious Christian heart bleeds not with tears of blood, when he beholds the sacred Nativity of his spotless Saviour transformed into a festivity of the foulest devils? when he shall see his blessed Jesus... entertained, courted, served like a devil, yea rather crucified and nailed to His cross again with nought else but desperate notorious sins, by an unchristian crew of Christians (I might say pagans or incarnate devils), who during all the sacred time of His Nativity, when they should be most holy, are more especially, and that professedly too, a most impure people, zealous of nothing but of stage-plays, dicing, dancing, healthing, rioting."—*Ib.* 744.

[2] Ps. lxxxiv. 2 (Prayer-Book version). This passage occurs word for word in a *Conference in the time of Advent* ap. Hearne *Caii Vind.* 785.

day[1] they began, and at Christmas on every holiday they proceeded in gracefully repeating and acting their Christian histories, taken both out of ancient and modern historians, in opposition to the *Golden-wooden Legends*[2] in the church of Rome. These he formed into colloquies, with forcible applications of all to their own circumstances; and for that very reason (because they are so adapted to the private constitution of this family) the books themselves (which are two or three large folios) are not fit to be published[3], though they are well and properly, that is, eloquently, worded. Mr. Ferrar himself compiled and wrote them with his own hand, to be transcribed by the actors that had parts in them. His main scope and aim is, to discover and confute

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[1] Nov. 1.

[2] *Legenda aurea, legenda lignea,* is a saying as familiar as a proverb; but I cannot now trace it to its source. See however *Legenda Lignea; with an answer to Mr. Birchley's* [i. e. John Austen's] *Moderator, (pleading for a toleration of popery) and a character of some hopefull saints revolted to the church of Rome. By D. Y.* 8vo. Lond. 1653.

[3] Some portions of them, from Hearne's *Caii Vindiciæ,* may be seen in the Appendix. From various passages in these dialogues it appears that the matter of the stories was supplied by N. F. but that they were repeated by the sisters in their own words. "*You shall have it,* said the Patient [764], *neither of mine nor of any other's composing, but in the very words of St. Augustine himself; for so did our Visitor* [N. F.], *giving me the story in writing, advise, if ever occasion were that I should recount it.*" Sometimes (772) they had leave to read their parts.

the vulgar errors evil surmises or worse practices of this sinful age and nation, notwithstanding the many forms and visors of godliness in which the men and women of all conditions and qualities disguise themselves to themselves as to others;—and then, to represent and press upon his family the true knowledge and practice of things truly Christian, however disused and decried, that is in one word, the great comprehensive duty of mortification, especially of the affections and appetites, meaning by affections all kinds of pride, ambition, envy, covetousness and anger; and by appetites all inordinate pleasures, as gluttony drunkenness lust and sloth.

65. Upon his expressing a hearty detestation he conceived against the Roman mass out of his pure affection to God's honour and worship, which he (having been many years conversant in popish countries) sadly observed to be mortally wounded by many of them, adoring what he thought they could not, and did not, believe to be the Body and Blood of Christ, he chanced to say, that *such a sacrifice profaned the very place where it was celebrated.* Whereupon one of the company replied, *Why, sir, what if a mass should be celebrated in your house without your leave or knowledge? what would you do? I will tell you a story,* said he: *a peer of France, that had long been a pensioner of Spain, being discovered and flying to the Spanish court for refuge, the king upon his arrival instantly dispatched his secretary to a certain duke and*

*grandee of Spain, entreating him to lend a palace of his for the fugitive nobleman's accommodation. "Tell the king," said he, "my house shall ever be at his majesty's service;" and when the secretary was returning to court with this obliging answer,— "Nay," said he, "stay and hear me out. As soon as ever the house is mine again, to do what I will in it, I will purge it with such a vengeance that all the world shall ring of it; for I will burn it down to the very ground, rather than it shall be said hereafter, there I harboured a traitor under my roof."* *But, sir,* said one that administered to Mr. Ferrar the occasion of such a warm discourse, *do you account the mass so great a traitor, that you would burn your house, if it was said there? I say not so,* said he, *for I have not a purse to build another. But I tell you, since you put me to it, I would pull down that room, though I build another.* This was a sally of his zeal[1], and I would not omit it, as it is one confutation of that obloquy, which malice as impotent as virulent endeavoured to fasten upon him, because he was so much a friend to a retired way of living, that he was no enemy to popery.

66. And though it was bruited abroad, that I know not how many of his nieces had by their uncle's advice entered into a formal and solemn vow of perpetual virginity[2], which was reported only to

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[1] *Above,* 80, 81.

[2] *Above,* 105.

brand him and them with the character of monkery and a nunnery names odious and dishonourable in this country merely because of papal abuses among us heretofore, and still in our neighbour countries), yet this was so perfect a forgery, that I find him in some of his papers declaring himself against such vows of single life with such earnestness as I did not expect in him. Nay, when their reverend diocesan had declared himself, without anybody's seeking to him, *ready to accept a vow (not absolute and unconditional, as it were in spite of heaven and hell, but) a vow of sincere endeavour, if God should continue to them the grace, in a single state to withstand the temptations of the world the flesh and the devil*, the foremost of them all in any of their generous and religious undertakings was not forward to take any such engagement upon her, but kept the middle way betwixt vowing and slackness, arriving at that which St. Paul[1] calls *stedfastness of heart and power over her own will.* But as all (except two or three of them, who resolved to spend their lives in a severer retirement and mortification) were intended one day to be matched unto the clergy[2], so they were bred accordingly, with so many dictates given them and received by them relating to the duties of humility and obedience to their husbands, of industry and pure devotion, to keep their souls always on the wing,

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[1] 1 Cor. vii. 37. [2] § 35.

that they were rare examples to all who lived in view of them.

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68. If any one attended him for his advice in a thing of moment (as he was the oracle of his friends), if the time and place would bear it, he would write down in brief the substance of what they propounded; then he would set down his answer, his advice and reasons, why he liked or disliked the proposition. He found by experience, delivering his mind in a short written note, especially to his country tenants, when they came to treat with him,

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he justly supposed and believed was one of the likeliest expedients to gain its adversaries. No man was better pleased with a decent splendour in the House of God, nor was more elevated with our solemn service performed with very good and grave cathedral music, of which his travels into Italy made him a perfect judge. He had it in his house, and he built in the church a gallery to set up an organ.

76. He made it his great endeavour to promote the learning of all the psalter[1] without book, not

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then studied with passionate and affectionate celebration, (for voice, gesture, &c.) as in God's presence, to imprint them in the minds of the people, (as this book teaches,) our prayers had been generally as well beloved as they were scorned. And for my part, I am apt to think, that our prayers stood so long, was a favour by God granted us at the prayers of these men, (who prayed for these prayers as well as in them:) and that they fell so soon, was a punishment of our negligence, (and other sins) who had not taught even those that liked them well, to use them aright." Barnabas Oley's *Life of Herbert*, c. ci.

[1] "It would much trouble me if I had but a thought that you would forget those psalms that you have learned. Nay, I hope you will not content yourself in the only keeping of them in your memory, but learn much more and in particular that book of the proverbs, which both I desired, and you promised me to do; and do not say with the sluggard, *there is a lion in the way*, you have now so much business that you can intend nothing else, without the neglect of performing your service to your master, which God forbid you should do. No, my son, that time which you shall spend in this kind, borrow it from those hours that others take, and yourself

only by the young people, but the elder sort, and he would even hire the poorer sort, parents as well as children, to this easy task, on purpose to redeem

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may have liberty to spend, in their own pleasures. But if you will say, there are none such allowed you, though I can hardly believe that, then take it from those which are allowed for your rest, and assure yourself, if with a good heart you shall so do, undoubtedly you shall find your mind much strengthened for the performance of all your duties, and the strength of your body no whit impaired. I might say much more, but I assure myself and praise God for it, you shall not want better counsel than I can give you: for your dear uncle will see you shortly."—Mrs. Collett to her son Edward. Nov. 1628. To her son Nicholas she writes (Sept. 26. 1631): "My son, would you enjoy both [prosperity here and happiness hereafter], you have long since learned, as we use to say, *by heart* (God grant it may be deeply grounded in your heart) the infallible way in the first psalm." Writing to her daughter Susanna Mapletoft (Jan. 28, 1632–3) she rejoices in "little Mall's memory to repeat without book seven psalms." See too a note endorsed, "From my dearest little cousin Mr. Barnard Brocas," being the boy's first literary attempt.

"For my honoured dear cousin Mrs. Collett this present from her humble servant.

Dear Cousin

I give you great thanks for your remembrance of me in my mother's letter, and for so great a favour, I could not be so rude but to present you with a scribbled paper, to let you know how much I am your servant and will be while I am

Stretham. 28 Oct. Barnard Brocas.

Pray cousin remember my service to my cousin and my cousin Jude and my other cousins, though I know them not. I have learnt seventeen verses out of the book you was pleased to give me."

them from their vain thoughts and conversation, and to make the repetition of those sacred hymns (without hindering the performance of any other necessary duty, honest employment, or innocent recreation) the subject of their mutual discourses. So he would earnestly recommend getting without book the Gospel of our Blessed Saviour, and what more they could of the New Testament[1]. *This,* he would say, *was as needful food to our souls, as meat is to our bodies, which a man is yet to get by the sweat of his brows. For who knows,* said he, *how he may be disposed of before he dies? Suppose blind, suppose in a prison, or travelling where he can have no help but from his memory*[2]. *No man, till he has tried,* said he, *can imagine the comforts and pleasures he may derive from such a good treasure in his heart.*

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*Slight those who say amidst their sickly healths,*
*Thou livest by rule. What doth not so but man?*
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*Entice the trusty sun, if that you can,*
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# APPENDIX.

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the vulgar errors evil surmises or worse practices of this sinful age and nation, notwithstanding the many forms and visors of godliness in which the men and women of all conditions and qualities disguise themselves to themselves as to others;—and then, to represent and press upon his family the true knowledge and practice of things truly Christian, however disused and decried, that is in one word, the great comprehensive duty of mortification, especially of the affections and appetites, meaning by affections all kinds of pride, ambition, envy, covetousness and anger; and by appetites all inordinate pleasures, as gluttony drunkenness lust and sloth.

65. Upon his expressing a hearty detestation he conceived against the Roman mass out of his pure affection to God's honour and worship, which he (having been many years conversant in popish countries) sadly observed to be mortally wounded by many of them, adoring what he thought they could not, and did not, believe to be the Body and Blood of Christ, he chanced to say, that *such a sacrifice profaned the very place where it was celebrated.* Whereupon one of the company replied, *Why, sir, what if a mass should be celebrated in your house without your leave or knowledge? what would you do? I will tell you a story,* said he: *a peer of France, that had long been a pensioner of Spain, being discovered and flying to the Spanish court for refuge, the king upon his arrival instantly dispatched his secretary to a certain duke and*

*grandee of Spain, entreating him to lend a palace of his for the fugitive nobleman's accommodation. "Tell the king," said he, "my house shall ever be at his majesty's service;" and when the secretary was returning to court with this obliging answer,— "Nay," said he, "stay and hear me out. As soon as ever the house is mine again, to do what I will in it, I will purge it with such a vengeance that all the world shall ring of it; for I will burn it down to the very ground, rather than it shall be said hereafter, there I harboured a traitor under my roof."* *But, sir,* said one that administered to Mr. Ferrar the occasion of such a warm discourse, *do you account the mass so great a traitor, that you would burn your house, if it was said there? I say not so,* said he, *for I have not a purse to build another. But I tell you, since you put me to it, I would pull down that room, though I build another.* This was a sally of his zeal[1], and I would not omit it, as it is one confutation of that obloquy, which malice as impotent as virulent endeavoured to fasten upon him, because he was so much a friend to a retired way of living, that he was no enemy to popery.

66. And though it was bruited abroad, that I know not how many of his nieces had by their uncle's advice entered into a formal and solemn vow of perpetual virginity[2], which was reported only to

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[1] *Above,* 80, 81.

[2] Above, 105.

brand him and them with the character of monkery and a nunnery (names odious and dishonourable in this country merely because of papal abuses among us heretofore, and still in our neighbour countries), yet this was so perfect a forgery, that I find him in some of his papers declaring himself against such vows of single life with such earnestness as I did not expect in him. Nay, when their reverend diocesan had declared himself, without anybody's seeking to him, *ready to accept a vow* (*not absolute and unconditional, as it were in spite of heaven and hell, but*) *a vow of sincere endeavour, if God should continue to them the grace, in a single state to withstand the temptations of the world the flesh and the devil*, the foremost of them all in any of their generous and religious undertakings was not forward to take any such engagement upon her, but kept the middle way betwixt vowing and slackness, arriving at that which St. Paul[1] calls *stedfastness of heart and power over her own will.* But as all (except two or three of them, who resolved to spend their lives in a severer retirement and mortification) were intended one day to be matched unto the clergy[2], so they were bred accordingly, with so many dictates given them and received by them relating to the duties of humility and obedience to their husbands, of industry and pure devotion, to keep their souls always on the wing,

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that they were rare examples to all who lived in view of them.

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*It seems to be approved by experience, that a slender diet and well nigh Pythagorean, or such as is answerable to the severest rules of monastical life, or to the institutions of hermits, who had necessity and scarceness for a rule, doth produce long life. And to this course appertains drinking of water, cold air, slender food (to wit, of roots and fruits, and powdered and pickled flesh and fish, rather than that which is fresh and hot), the wearing of hair-cloth, often fastings, frequent watchings, and seldom enjoyment of sensual pleasures, and the like. For all these do diminish the spirits, and reduce them to that quantity which sufficeth merely to the services of life, whereby the consumption of the radical humour and vital heat is abated.*

BACON, *History of Life and Death* (vol. iii. p. 357, London, 1753).

# APPENDIX.

## *Extant Memorials of the Ferrars.*

1. THE first in value and the foundation of all other memoirs is that written by John Ferrar. There seem originally to have been two or three forms of this: thus Peckard notes (307, 308) among "MSS. once at Gidding" "Mr. Nich. Ferrar's life: in the hand of Mr. J. Ferrar. 76 pages folio," and "mementos concerning Mr. N. Ferrar, folio, 1655," as well as an ancient folio MS. which had been entrusted to Peck, and had afterwards passed into Peckard's hands, by bequest from Edward Ferrar of Huntingdon. Peck's MS. "entitled *The complete Church of England man exemplified in the holy life of Mr. N. Ferrar*, written out fair and prepared for the press," was lent by Peckard to the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Sheephall, Herts., and never recovered[1]. Its loss is much to be regretted, as Peck certainly would not have deformed his original as Peckard has done in his *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar. By P. Peckard*[2], *D.D. Master of Magdalen College,*

[1] In the Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6209. fol. 88 *b.* seq. are some letters of Peck to Prof. Ward, in which (Sept. 10 and 23, 1735) he states that John Ferrar's memoirs were composed in 1655, "to assist somebody (whom, I am not yet sure) to write his [N. F.'s] life. They are wrote by fits and starts confusedly. And I have had a deal of trouble to reduce them to method." He hoped to complete his task that winter, 1735.

[2] Dr. Peckard's mutilations of the original seem to have been dictated by fear of a scornful public in the man himself there was much to esteem: see

*Cambridge. Cambridge, Archdeacon*, 1790, 8vo.[1] Peckard's work has been reprinted (with curtailments, not always judicious, with some useful notes, and with the valuable appendix from the Lambeth MS., which is given above) in the four editions of Dr. Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biogr.* "*A life of Nicholas Ferrar. London, Masters.* 1852," edited, I believe, by Mr. Miller, of New College, is a neatly printed abridgement from Peckard; it has also a sketch of the church and an account of the church furniture. Baker's extracts[2] were known to Peckard, but neither he nor his successors have made any use of them. In the early part they are little more than a table of contents[3]; but the account of the Gidding settlement is probably complete. I have taken the liberty to change the spelling, and to insert or omit, for the sake of distinctness, a few little words, such as *and, the* &c. These corrections, with a few *errata*, will be noticed in their proper places below.

2. *Life by Turner, bishop of Ely.* Extracts were first given (by Dr. Dodd) in the second volume of the *Christian Magazine* (1761). "In some parts," says Peckard, "even whole paragraphs are word for word the same" with John Ferrar's MS. A short summary appeared in the *Gent. Mag.* xlii. 364 seq. After fruitless endeavours to consult the

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a notice of him and his foundations at Magdalen in Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, vi. 729. He presented his life of Ferrar to Mr. Hopkinson's father; thus it was that the second restorer of Gidding learnt in early boyhood to revere the memory of the first.

1 Some copies have a portrait prefixed, with the inscription, *C. Johnson pinxt. P. W. Tomkins sculp. late pupil of F. Bartolozzi. Nicholas Ferrar, A M. Born Feb.* 22, 1592. *Died Dec.* 2[a], 1637. *Publ. as the act directs, Jan.* 1, 1791.

2 Baker MS. xxxv. (Camb. Univ. Libr. EB. 9. 24), 389—432.

3 The MS. was lent to Baker by one of the family, "and being very authentic," as he says, p. 422, "may serve to correct whatever we have yet in print concerning this extraordinary man, and his extraordinary way of living." He was at first hurried by the fear that the MS. might be recalled, and therefore could not make so full a transcript as he desired.

[a] The true date is Dec. 4.

*Christian Magazine,* I have been compelled to derive my knowledge of this life from the *Brief Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, M.A. and fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, founder of a protestant religious establishment at Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire; collected from a narrative by the right reverend Dr. Turner, formerly bishop of Ely; now edited with additions and biographical notices of some of Mr. Ferrar's contemporaries. By a clergyman of the established church.* Bristol, Chilcott. 1819. 12mo. Again in 1837 appeared *Brief memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar, M.A. founder &c. Chiefly collected from a narrative by the right rev. Dr. Turner, formerly lord bishop of Ely. And now edited, with additions, by the Rev. T. Macdonogh, vicar of Bovingdon.* Second edition. London, Nisbet. 12mo. These editions are burdened with unnecessary reflections, and no less unnecessary accessions of well known facts. Turner's memoir may be read in a better form in the second life printed above. This is now in the possession of the Rev. Dan. John Hopkins, vicar of Hartford near Huntingdon, grandson to Wm. Robinson, "rector of Hammerton, Hunts. 1743," a laborious but forgotten scholar, who was also rector of Gidding, where he copied out the older entries (beginning with N. F.'s burial) from the original parish registers now lost. Mr. Hopkins has many of his grandfather's MSS., all most correctly written in a small neat hand, "the paper all the time resting on the knee." In the same volume with the memoir are several curious papers, e.g. the correspondence between the nonjurors and the eastern patriarchs. I have called it *Life of N. F. by Dr. Jebb,* after the heading of the MS. which states that it came by a member of the Cotton family (whose seat is in the county) from Dr. Jebb; who Dr. Jebb was I have not yet ascertained:—there was a nonjuror of the name. What is certain is that the life is in substance and generally in expression, Turner's. If partiality do not deceive me, it yields to few English biographies in vigour of style or interest of subject, and seems well adapted for general circulation in a cheap form; I throw out the hint, in the hope

that it may meet the eye of some influential member of the Christian Knowledge Society.

3. *The Collett Letters*, 153 in number, written chiefly by Mrs. Collett, between the years 1600 and 1645[1]. These are well and forcibly expressed, often applying proverbs and metaphors with great effect. The advice given is judicious and kindly administered; strong affection and deep religious earnestness pervade every line. They are preserved (in a hand of the latter part of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century) in a small 4to volume, now in the possession of Samuel Buckle Esq. of Leamington, by whom, through the kind offices of Mr. Hopkinson, I was liberally allowed to make a transcript of the whole. Some five and twenty years ago an old house in Midgate Street, Peterborough, was pulled down: the workmen, knowing Mr. Buckle to be "a curious gentleman," brought him some papers, which they had found in a recess in the wall: these turned out to be the Collett letters together with a transcript (in a different hand) of Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, of which Peckard had a copy (Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 183, 184). Other papers were destroyed as rubbish.

4. Lenton's letter to sir Thos. Hetley. See it together with the explanatory note to John Ferrar in the preface. This has been several times printed in the editions of Hearne's *Caius* and *Langtoft*, in Peckard, and in the four editions of Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.*[2]

5. Oley's *Preface to Herbert's Country Parson.*

6. Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 50[3].

7. Fuller's *Worthies* in *Hunts.*

8. Walton's *Life of Herbert*[4].

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[1] See a list of these letters below.

[2] MSS. copies in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5506. fol. 157, Harl. 4845, art. 1, Lansd. 209, art. 3, 213. art. 29.

[3] Hacket's account of the restoration of glebe by the Ferrars, Kennett (*Of Impropriations*, 237 n.) thus characterizes: "though not strictly true in every circumstance, it is so in the substance of it."

[4] Walton's errors are noticed by Hearne (*Caius*, 689) and Peckard (*Pref. xl*).

9. The king's visit to Gidding (Rushworth, ii. 178. See below).

10. Account of N. F.'s first years: from a paper MS. of Dr. Worthington's[1] (Hearne's *Caius*, 684 seq.).

11. Wills of Nicholas and Mary Ferrar, the father and mother. See below.

12. Funeral certificate of N. F. the father (Hearne's *Caius*, 683).

13. Letters of John Ferrar to Dr. Basire, (*ib.* 697 seq.)

14. Concordances of various parts of scripture, three of which are in the British Museum, and one at St. John's College, Oxford. See below. The concordance to the evangelists, which N. F. presented to Susanna Mapletoft[2], was in the possession of Dr. John Mapletoft's great-nephew, Mr.

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[1] "Whence my father transcribed this paper I cannot imagine, unless from a funeral sermon, or a little book entitled *A token for Children*; which was printed, I think, not long before my father's death." Mr. John Worthington in a letter to me dated 11 Nov. 1735 (Note by Peck in Middle Hill MS. 9527. Peck suggests that the paper may be Dr. Robert Mapletoft's).

[2] Referred to in the following notes (Peckard, 273, 274): "Mr. Nicholas Ferrar to his married niece Mrs. Susanna Mapletoft.

"My dear and worthy niece,

The equal joy and benefit which I have in and by you, make me as gladly give you *my* part, as your sisters have done *theirs*, of this book, and to add my farther promise (which their joint consent doth ratify) that, of every good thing which God shall impart to us, you shall have as free and liberal a communication as we can possibly make you; which not only our love, but your own desert binds us to, whilst you continue (what you are by the performance of your duty) the great comfort and ornament of our family.

God make you to encrease in all his graces and blessings. Amen!"

Y^r. Uncle

N. Ferrar."

"In the Harmony was this memorandum. 'This book was presented by my great grandmother, by my honoured mothers two sisters (the daughters of John and Susanna Collett and by their uncle Nicholas Ferrar (who was my godfather) to my ever honoured mother Susanna Mapletoft, the same year in which I was born (1631). And I desire my son (to whom I do give it, with the great Concordance, and other story books) that it may be preserved in the family as long as may be.

John Mapletoft,

Jan. 23, 1715.'"

Heming of Hillingden. (J. H. M. [Mr. Markland of Bath] in *Notes and Queries*, ii. 445).

15. The maiden-sisters' exercises. Conversations repeated during Christmas-tide and other holy seasons; each was intended to enforce both by argument and by example some lesson of virtue. The matter certainly, and probably to some extent the form of the various arguments and stories, were derived from N. F. Some of these may be seen in Hearne's *Caius*, 713—794; or, in a more complete form, together with many unknown to Hearne, in the Middle Hill MS. 9527; which comprises, amongst other things, what remains of "J. H. S. Ascetic conversations interspersed with sundry admirable examples and tales in honour of virtue and piety; as discoursed and related (in the times of k. Ch. I.) in the sisters' chamber by the seven virgin ladies and others of the first and second combination[1] of the religious academy at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire: first drawn up for their use by their *Visitor*, the pious Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Gent., and now collated with several manuscript copies and revised throughout by Francis Peck, M.A. rector of Godeby near Melton in Leicestershire. Ecclus. vi. 35. Vol. I.[2] The volume has the book-plate and arms of "John Broadley." Extracts will be given below.

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[1] This is explained by a scrap which has been preserved near the beginning of the MS. volume. "...[at first] four, but afterwards all the seven daughters of Mr. John Collett.... *The sisters of the first combination*, as they were called, were four, who were thus named: 1. *The Chief*, that is, the lady abbess or prioress; her name was Mary Collett, *alias* Ferrar, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Collett. 2. *The Patient*; her name was Anne Collett, *alias* Ferrar, the second daughter of Mr. John Collett. 3. *The Cheerful*; her name was... the third daughter of Mr. John Collett. 4. *The Affectionate*; her name was... the fourth daughter of Mr. John Collett."

[2] Vol. I.

Contents.

The first introduction.

The first conversation, as discoursed on Ash-Wednesday, 1630.

1. That it is the utmost folly to procrastinate in the point of repentance: Pyrrhus and Cineas.

16. Portrait of Nicholas Ferrar the father, by Cornelius Janssen. One, doubtless an original, is in the possession of

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2. That we ought never to defer doing justice to any one, when it is in our power to perform it: Trajan and the widow.

3. That we ought to do as much as we can for the poor, whilst we are yet well and in health, and not leave it to be done when we come to die: a great lady (called the lady of the light) and her son the bishop.

4. That errors are often multiplied by pretending to excuse them: the penny or the blemished traveller.

The second introduction.

The second conversation as discoursed on Easter Monday, 1631.

5. That everything which this world affords is vanity: the last words and death of king Philip III. of Spain.

6. That true joy is here nowhere else to be found but in God's service: strange forebodings which (even in the midst of the highest worldly delights) king Henry IV. of France had of his own death, and of his thereupon retiring often to prayer.

7. The same: the epitaph of Pope Adrian VI. and the discourse of Pope Marcellus II.

Part of the third conversation as discoursed on Easter Tuesday, 1631.

8. That humility toward God is highly becoming every one: first story of the Emperor Charles V.

9. That moderation towards our equals and our enemies is likewise very beautiful: second story of the Emperor Charles V.

10. That the patient bearing of provocations is one of the greatest ornaments of a Christian: story of the emperor Charles.

Part of the fourth conversation as discoursed on Wednesday in Easter Week, 1631.

11. That charity and equanimity adorn both sexes: Mary, Queen of Hungary, and her brother the Emperor Charles V.

Part of the fifth conversation as discoursed on St. Stephen's day, 26 Dec. 1631.

12. That no man can be a true Christian, who cannot forgive injuries: Sapritius and Nicephorus.

13. That the desire of revenge is the cause of anger: father Sisois and the stranger.

14. That meekness is the very badge of a Christian: Macarius and the idolatrous priest.

15. That we must overcome evil with good: John the patriarch of Alexandria and the vintner.

16. The same: king Henry IV. of France and the assassin.

17. The same: king Alphonso XI. of Castile and the Moorish soldier.

Mr. Balfour of Huntingdon, to whom I am much indebted for the readiness with which he facilitated my researches in

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18. The great beauty of meekness in the fair sex: Q. Catherine, the first wife of King Henry VIII.

19. That we must not pretend to revenge ourselves: the abbot Apollonius and the quarrelsome man.

Part of the sixth conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, 27 Dec. 1631.

20. That every minister ought to be very diligent in labouring the conversion of sinners, especially those of his own flock: St. John the Evangelist and the young man who turned robber.

21. That a charitable prevention of sin in our brethren is next to a charitable redemption of them from it: St. Nicholas and the decayed gentleman and his three daughters.

22. That gifts of charity will hereafter be certainly rewarded: the mansion of happiness, or bishop Trollus and John the almoner.

23. That some very charitable persons find their riches in this world increase faster the faster they give them away: Cosmo de Medicis the great.

24. That content and comforts, as well as riches, are in this world often multiplied by alms-deeds: Gonsalvo Ferrantes the great captain.

25. That the ill lives and ways of many Christians are some of the reasons which hinder Turks from turning Christians: Saladin the Saracen.

Part of the seventh conversation as discoursed on the feast of the holy innocents, 28 Dec. 1631.

26. That the best and fairest promisings of this world are often mere wretchedness and disappointment: the shirt of the happy woman's making, or the great lady of Naples and her son.

27. That all our time here is but lost, save what is spent in God's service: the last sickness and death of Maurice prince of Orange.

28. That they are the most happy who die soonest: a speech of Q. Elizabeth's in 1586.

29. That we ought always to be prepared for death: the dying man who smiled.

30. That every thing which this world affords is nothing but vanity: Gillimer.

Part of the eighth conversation, as discoursed on 29 Decemb. 1631.

31. That there is no reason to doubt of the certainty of a future state: Gennadius the physician, as related by St. Austin.

32. The same: Synesius the bishop and Evagrius the philosopher.

33. The same: Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne and the two wicked priests.

34. The same: Licinius and the forty martyrs.

35. The same: Marcilius Ficinus and Michael Mercatus.

that town. Inscription at the top, in the left corner. *Piu nel' animo. Ætat.* 71. 1617. Another, also an original, was

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Part of the ninth conversation as discoursed on 30 Dec. 1631.

36. The great beauty of humility: St. Anthony.

37. The same: Sara the virgin.

38. The same: the two hermits and the dying lamp.

39. The great beauty of humility further opened: the proud dying hermit and the penitent malefactor.

40. The great beauty of humility further set forth: the self-accuser.

The tenth conversation as discoursed on the 31 Dec. 1631.

41. The great beauty of patience: the noblewoman of Alexandria and the perverse widow.

42. Same: the young man who trod down his own garment.

43. Same. Eulogius and the Leper.

44. Same: Didymus of Alexandria.

45. Same: Casimir, prince of Sendomria and John Coner.

46. Same: St. Gregory and Mauricius the emperor and his son.

47. Same: the oil or the sick hermit and his disciple.

48. Same: Agaton the hermit and the strangers.

49. Same: Anub and his brethren.

The first conversation, as discoursed on the feast of St. Luke the evangelist, 1632, at the election of Mrs. Mary Collett, alias Ferrar, spinster, to be Mother of the religious academy at Little Gidding in the room of her grandmother Mrs. Mary Ferrar widow, who by reason of her great age had desired to resign.

1. The great peril attending high posts: the young man and his uncle the hermit.

2. The great safety of governing by good advice: Cosmo de Medicis and Charles Pucci.

3. That mean persons, justly appointed to any high office, ought to be as much respected as those who are high-born: Amasis and his new golden idol.

The second conversation, as discoursed on the feast of All Saints, 1632 at the entrance of Mrs. Mary Collett &c. into the office of Mother &c. With an account of the several presents which were then made her by the several other members of that society.

4. That the very looks of good men are sometimes sufficient to reclaim sinners: St. Simeon and Usthazanes the eunuch.

5. That the greatest of sinners are sometimes very strangely converted: from the story of Lais the harlot and father Paphnutius the hermit.

5. (2) The same: the harlot and father Martinian the hermit.

6. Same: Pelagia the harlot and Nonnus the bishop of Heliopolis.

presented by Peckard to the master's lodge in Magdalen College, Cambridge. It is somewhat more distinct than Mr.

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The third conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, 1632.

7. Sequel of the story of Laia, &c.

8. That we may now and then gather something of good use out of the words of very ill people: St. Ephraim the hermit and the harlot of Edessa.

9. That the greatest of sinners are sometimes very strangely converted: the same St. E. and another harlot of Edessa.

10. That it signifies nothing to repent unless we at the same time resolve also to make restitution of whatever we have unjustly defrauded others of: the penitent miser and his discourse with his many children.

11. That if other men act amiss, their doing so is no warrant for us to follow their examples: the south-country man and the north-country jury-man.

12. Sequel of the story of Pelagia.

13. That the poor should always be treated with great respect: Ingo, king of the Draves.

14. Same: Amadeus, duke of Savoy.

15. Sequel of story of Licinius.

16. That we must always be ready to lay down our lives for the cause of Christ: Modestus the president of Edessa and the orthodox Christian woman and her child.

17. That no alms is too valuable to be given to the poor: Aidan, bp. of Lindisfarn and Oswi king of the Northumbers.

The fourth conversation as discoursed in the third week of Advent, 1632.

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19. That we must always be ready to lay down our very lives for the cause of Christ: St. Laurence the deacon.

The fifth conversation as discoursed on St. Stephen's day, 1632.

20. That the martyrs of Christ when under the most cruel torments often feel little or no pain: James Bainham.

21. Same: Widow Windelmuta.

22. Same: Marian, a poor woman.

23. Same: Bishop Farrar.

24. Same: Thomas Hawkes.

25. Same: the confession of Bishop Boner.

26. Same: Peter Marchesy and Maurice Monge.

27. Same: lame Hugh Laverock and blind John ap Rice martyred at Stratford le Bow.

28. That the poor are the jewels of the church: St. Macarius and the covetous old maid.

The sixth conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1632.

29. That the love of God and virtue ought still to be uppermost in all our *thoughts*: Theodora and Didymus.

Balfour's, but there is no other difference. At the back is a note stating that it is the portrait of Nicholas Ferrar, father to Mrs. Collett, "the head of our family." Mr. Hughes of Bedfont near Hounslow (whose mother, a daughter of Mr. Hugh Ferrar, bequeathed the two family portraits to Mr. Balfour) has a portrait which he supposes to be that of "*John* (?) Ferrar" the father (?) of N. F.

17. Portrait of Mary Ferrar, the mother, also by Janssen. In Mr. Balfour's possession. Inscription. *Dolce inganno.* Ætat. 62. 1617.

18. Portrait of N. F. by Janssen, presented by Peckard with the father's. Mr. Hughes has another "like that at Magdalen College, Cambridge, but whether copy or original," he does not know.

19. A portrait of Mrs. Ferrar with N. F. when a baby in her arms. In Mr. Hughes's possession.

20. A small portrait of Charles I. in needlework, said to have been executed by one of the Gidding family. In Mr. Hughes's possession.

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30. As 20: Theodorus of Antioch.

31. Same: Marcus bp. of Arethusa.

32. That the persecutors of the saints and martyrs are generally, even at the same instant they afflict those good men and often after, much disturbed with an unusual terror, anguish and confusion of mind: Henry II. of France and the poor tailor of Paris.

The seventh conversation as discoursed on the feast of the holy innocents, 1632.

33. As 20: Romanus of Antioch and the Christian child.

34. That it is the duty of parents not to grieve but to rejoice at what their children suffer for Christ's sake: Mrs. Clerk of Meaux and her son John Clerk.

35. Same: Mrs. Hunt and her son Wm. H.

36. That if there be a due care taken of their education, even children will always be ready to lay down their lives for Christ: Maximian and the two infant martyrs.

The eighth conversation, as discoursed on the feast of Circumcision, 1632.

37. That the clergy and all those who are intended for holy orders ought never to go into taverns: the hermit and the priest.

21. Entries in the Gidding and other registers: inscriptions on tomb-stones &c. See the notes on the pedigree.

22. Over the church door is inscribed (and was, doubtless, in Ferrar's time, though the west front is new), *This is none other but the house of God and the gate of heaven.* On an old brass plate on the right of the church door, *The house of prayer.* In the nave, facing the door as you enter, stands a brazen font, on which are engraved alternately crosses and fleurs-de-lys: originally, as we learn from Lenton, this was surmounted by a cross, but now by a coronet of ruder workmanship, also composed of alternate crosses and fleurs-de-lys. Further on, close to the chancel arch, is a fine brass eagle; the claws, however, having been of silver, have disappeared. Within the chancel arch on the left side is a frame for an hour-glass, supported by a bracket. The communion-table of cedar, with its silk carpet, and brass table containing the creed, Lord's prayer, and commandments are preserved, together with a small piece of the tapestry which the sisters worked for the church. On the silver flagon (of 34¼ oz.) is inscribed.

"What Sr. Edwyn Sandys bequeathed
To
The remembrance of freindship,
His freinde hath consecrated
To
The Honour of God's Service.
1629."

And on the handle, "For the Church of Little Gidding in Huntingtonshyer." On the offertory dish, "For the Church of Little Gidding of the Guift of Susan Beckwith."

23. The names of some fields in the Gidding estate commemorate events in the family history. Thus *King Close*, where they met king Charles. So probably *Poor folks' pasture, Church Close, Bell Close, Dovehouse Close, Pond Close, Cosens (Cousin's) Close.*

24. "J. J." (? Jebb) supplied Peck with a list of various papers. I insert such as are still unprinted, in the hope that they may yet be recovered.

(Middle Hill MS. 9527.)

A. "At Mr. Mapletoft's at Bifield near Daintry in Northamptonshire.

...2. The grandmother (Mrs. Mary Ferrar's) answer [to the letter in Hearne's *Caius*, 781, 782], beginning with: *What I have taught*, &c.

3. Mary and Ann Collett's letter *To our dear sisters*. Dated 21 Febr. 1631. Subscribed. Mary Collett
Anne Collett.

[To which follows by a later hand.]

'Who both died virgins, resolving [so] to live when they were young, by the grace of God.

My much honoured aunt Mary, who took care of me and my brother Peter and sister Mary after the death of our reverend and pious father Mr. Joshua M. died in the 80th year of her age.

John Mapletoft.

Jan. 22, 1715.'"

B. Then follows another list of papers probably at the same place.

"1. Begins: *It was the same day wherein the church celebrates the great festival of the purification* &c. [printed, but only in part, by Hearne, *Caius*, 713 seq.]. Contains 291 pages. With an index of stories, beginning: *The accuser himself.—Adrian and Marcellus* &c.

This I have. [Peck's note.]

2. Beginning: *The treble admonition which the name and profession of St. Luke &c.* Ending: *of learning.*

This I want. [Peck's note.]

3. [A letter (I think of no great importance) from a father to his son. *an.* 1687. J. J.]

4. Beginning: *Cheerful, pardon me, if I seem importunate.* Ending: *receiver of complaints.* [Partly printed in *Caius*, 783 seq.]"

C. "At Mr. Bunbury's of Great Catworth. Books and MSS. belonging to Mr. John Mapletoft.

1. Of the instruction of children in the Christian doctrine, by Ludovico Carbone, 1636[1]. Wherein is demonstrated how necessary, worthy and acceptable to God this exercise of teaching the Christian doctrine is; and what profit children, masters, private families, cities and the whole church reaps thereby. There are also profitable advertisements given for the good training up of children gathered out of the holy scripture. A work very profitable and necessary for every Christian. Con Privilegii. Printed at Venice by John Guerigli, 1596.

At the end of this book are these words. *Praise be to God and the blessed Virgin Annunciata*[2].—But I say, *Soli Deo gloria.* [N. F.]

This translation was finishod the 15 June, 1634, at the request of Edmund Duncon.

[I suppose this book to be of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's writing, being in a scholarlike hand &c. J. J.]

2. Pia exercitia et documenta, excerpta, composita, scripta, labente ætatis suæ anno lxxx°. per Johannem Collett. [It is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and contains a preface, litanies, prayers, petitions, hymns, exhortations and admonitions against several sins. J. J.] This book is a 4to, handsomely bound in Turkey leather.

3. Collections; part i. of some short sentences out of the holy scriptures upon divers subjects: part ii. Sentences upon the preceding subjects out of divers human authors. [This book is in 8vo. J. J.]

4. A large story book. Folio.

5, 6, 7. Three large books of dialogues. Folio.

8. A large book of stories, with outlandish proverbs at the end, englished by Mr. Geo. Herbert: in all, 463 proverbs. [One story book begins with: *The chief care of parents*

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[1] Peckard seems to have had a MS. copy of this translation, which, he says, was sent to Cambridge to be licensed in 1636, but refused. See above, 51 n.

[2] So far the Italian (Peckard).

*ought to be the good education of children.* ii. *Examples of good children.* This is the story book with proverbs. J. J.]"

D. At the same place.

"1. The book of temperance, by way of dialogue. [One or two stories in it. J. J.]

2. Another book of dialogues, with many stories. Beginning with *The treble admonition.* With an index of the stories at the end.

3. Of the education of children, many stories. Also, wise and witty sayings and actions included in stories. Part ii. Outlandish proverbs &c.

4. Conversations concerning the true end and design of human life and the contempt of the world. Interspersed with many useful stories. [At the beginning are the young ladies' letters, &c. At the end, an index. J. J.]

5. The instruction of children, translated from the Italian, &c. 1634."

25. The translations of Valdesso and Lessius, and Ferrar's preface to Herbert's *Temple.* (See below.)

## *Additional Notes.*

Page 3. n. 3. The other sister was named Joyce. She seems to have died before N. F. took his farewell of the family in 1613. See page 11 § 6. *An only sister.*

Page 7. Barnabas Oley was a most laborious tutor at Clare at the outbreak of the civil war. (See the list of freshmen, nearly all pupils of his, preserved in the college.) See Walker's *Sufferings,* ii. 141, 142, Wood's *Ath.* ii. 667, Bentham's *Ely,* i. 27, *Barwick's Life,* 26 n., Baker in Hearne's *Caius,* 690, his will in Baker's MS. xii. (or xvi? the *Index* gives both volumes) 191, his letter to Dr. Gower, *ibid.* ii. 146. "[I] can satisfy you that the rich man that desired to print Dr. J[ackson]'s works was Mr. Nettleton of University College, and the Cambridge man that solicited it, Mr. Oley of

that it may meet the eye of some influential member of the Christian Knowledge Society.

3. *The Collett Letters*, 153 in number, written chiefly by Mrs. Collett, between the years 1600 and 1645[1]. These are well and forcibly expressed, often applying proverbs and metaphors with great effect. The advice given is judicious and kindly administered; strong affection and deep religious earnestness pervade every line. They are preserved (in a hand of the latter part of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century) in a small 4to volume, now in the possession of Samuel Buckle Esq. of Leamington, by whom, through the kind offices of Mr. Hopkinson, I was liberally allowed to make a transcript of the whole. Some five and twenty years ago an old house in Midgate Street, Peterborough, was pulled down: the workmen, knowing Mr. Buckle to be "a curious gentleman," brought him some papers, which they had found in a recess in the wall: these turned out to be the Collett letters together with a transcript (in a different hand) of Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*, of which Peckard had a copy (Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.* iv. 183, 184). Other papers were destroyed as rubbish.

4. Lenton's letter to sir Thos. Hetley. See it together with the explanatory note to John Ferrar in the preface. This has been several times printed in the editions of Hearne's *Caius* and *Langtoft*, in Peckard, and in the four editions of Wordsw. *Eccl. Biogr.*[2]

5. Oley's *Preface to Herbert's Country Parson.*

6. Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 50[3].

7. Fuller's *Worthies* in *Hunts.*

8. Walton's *Life of Herbert*[4].

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[1] See a list of these letters below.

[2] MSS. copies in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5506. fol. 157, Harl. 4845, art. 1, Lansd. 209, art. 3, 213. art. 29.

[3] Hacket's account of the restoration of glebe by the Ferrars, Kennett (*Of Impropriations*, 237 n.) thus characterizes: "though not strictly true in every circumstance, it is so in the substance of it."

[4] Walton's errors are noticed by Hearne (*Caius*, 689) and Peckard (*Pref. xl*).

9. The king's visit to Gidding (Rushworth, ii. 178. See below).

10. Account of N. F.'s first years: from a paper MS. of Dr. Worthington's[1] (Hearne's *Caius*, 684 seq.).

11. Wills of Nicholas and Mary Ferrar, the father and mother. See below.

12. Funeral certificate of N. F. the father (Hearne's *Caius*, 683).

13. Letters of John Ferrar to Dr. Basire, (*ib.* 697 seq.)

14. Concordances of various parts of scripture, three of which are in the British Museum, and one at St. John's College, Oxford. See below. The concordance to the evangelists, which N. F. presented to Susanna Mapletoft[2], was in the possession of Dr. John Mapletoft's great-nephew, Mr.

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[1] "Whence my father transcribed this paper I cannot imagine, unless from a funeral sermon, or a little book entitled *A token for Children*; which was printed, I think, not long before my father's death." Mr. John Worthington in a letter to me dated 11 Nov. 1735 (Note by Peck in Middle Hill MS. 9527. Peck suggests that the paper may be Dr. Robert Mapletoft's).

[2] Referred to in the following notes (Peckard, 273, 274): "Mr. Nicholas Ferrar to his married niece Mrs. Susanna Mapletoft.

"My dear and worthy niece,

The equal joy and benefit which I have in and by you, make me as gladly give you *my* part, as your sisters have done *theirs*, of this book, and to add my farther promise (which their joint consent doth ratify) that, of every good thing which God shall impart to us, you shall have as free and liberal a communication as we can possibly make you; which not only our love, but your own desert binds us to, whilst you continue (what you are by the performance of your duty) the great comfort and ornament of our family.

God make you to encrease in all his graces and blessings. Amen!"

Yr. Uncle

N. Ferrar."

"In the Harmony was this memorandum. 'This book was presented by my great grandmother, by my honoured mothers two sisters (the daughters of John and Susanna Collett and by their uncle Nicholas Ferrar (who was my godfather) to my ever honoured mother Susanna Mapletoft, the same year in which I was born (1631). And I desire my son (to whom I do give it, with the great Concordance, and other story books) that it may be preserved in the family as long as may be.

John Mapletoft,

Jan. 23, 1715.'"

Heming of Hillingden. (J. H. M. [Mr. Markland of Bath] in *Notes and Queries*, ii. 445).

15. The maiden-sisters' exercises. Conversations repeated during Christmas-tide and other holy seasons; each was intended to enforce both by argument and by example some lesson of virtue. The matter certainly, and probably to some extent the form of the various arguments and stories, were derived from N. F. Some of these may be seen in Hearne's *Caius*, 713—794; or, in a more complete form, together with many unknown to Hearne, in the Middle Hill MS. 9527; which comprises, amongst other things, what remains of "J. H. S. Ascetic conversations interspersed with sundry admirable examples and tales in honour of virtue and piety; as discoursed and related (in the times of k. Ch. I.) in the sisters' chamber by the seven virgin ladies and others of the first and second combination[1] of the religious academy at Little Gidding in Huntingdonshire: first drawn up for their use by their *Visitor*, the pious Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, Gent., and now collated with several manuscript copies and revised throughout by Francis Peck, M.A. rector of Godeby near Melton in Leicestershire. Ecclus. vi. 35. Vol. I.[2] The volume has the book-plate and arms of "John Broadley." Extracts will be given below.

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[1] This is explained by a scrap which has been preserved near the beginning of the MS. volume. "...[at first] four, but afterwards all the seven daughters of Mr. John Collett.... *The sisters of the first combination*, as they were called, were four, who were thus named: 1. *The Chief*, that is, the lady abbess or prioress; her name was Mary Collett, *alias* Ferrar, the eldest daughter of Mr. John Collett. 2. *The Patient*; her name was Anne Collet, *alias* Ferrar, the second daughter of Mr. John Collett. 3. *The Cheerful*; her name was... the third daughter of Mr. John Collett. 4. *The Affectionate*; her name was... the fourth daughter of Mr. John Collett."

[2] Vol. I.

Contents.

The first introduction.

The first conversation, as discoursed on Ash-Wednesday, 1630.

1. That it is the utmost folly to procrastinate in the point of repentance: *Pyrrhus* and Cineas.

16. Portrait of Nicholas Ferrar the father, by Cornelius Janssen. One, doubtless an original, is in the possession of

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2. That we ought never to defer doing justice to any one, when it is in our power to perform it: Trajan and the widow.

3. That we ought to do as much as we can for the poor, whilst we are yet well and in health, and not leave it to be done when we come to die: a great lady (called the lady of the light) and her son the bishop.

4. That errors are often multiplied by pretending to excuse them: the penny or the blemished traveller.

The second introduction.

The second conversation as discoursed on Easter Monday, 1631.

5. That everything which this world affords is vanity: the last words and death of king Philip III. of Spain.

6. That true joy is here nowhere else to be found but in God's service: strange forebodings which (even in the midst of the highest worldly delights) king Henry IV. of France had of his own death, and of his thereupon retiring often to prayer.

7. The same: the epitaph of Pope Adrian VI. and the discourse of Pope Marcellus II.

Part of the third conversation as discoursed on Easter Tuesday, 1631.

8. That humility toward God is highly becoming every one: first story of the Emperor Charles V.

9. That moderation towards our equals and our enemies is likewise very beautiful: second story of the Emperor Charles V.

10. That the patient bearing of provocations is one of the greatest ornaments of a Christian: story of the emperor Charles.

Part of the fourth conversation as discoursed on Wednesday in Easter Week, 1631.

11. That charity and equanimity adorn both sexes: Mary, Queen of Hungary, and her brother the Emperor Charles V.

Part of the fifth conversation as discoursed on St. Stephen's day, 26 Dec. 1631.

12. That no man can be a true Christian, who cannot forgive injuries: Sapritius and Nicephorus.

13. That the desire of revenge is the cause of anger: father Sisois and the stranger.

14. That meekness is the very badge of a Christian: Macarius and the idolatrous priest.

15. That we must overcome evil with good: John the patriarch of Alexandria and the vintner.

16. The same: king Henry IV. of France and the assassin.

17. The same: king Alphonso XI. of Castile and the Moorish soldier.

Mr. Balfour of Huntingdon, to whom I am much indebted for the readiness with which he facilitated my researches in

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18. The great beauty of meekness in the fair sex: Q. Catherine, the first wife of King Henry VIII.

19. That we must not pretend to revenge ourselves: the abbot Apollonius and the quarrelsome man.

Part of the sixth conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, 27 Dec. 1631.

20. That every minister ought to be very diligent in labouring the conversion of sinners, especially those of his own flock: St. John the Evangelist and the young man who turned robber.

21. That a charitable prevention of sin in our brethren is next to a charitable redemption of them from it: St. Nicholas and the decayed gentleman and his three daughters.

22. That gifts of charity will hereafter be certainly rewarded: the mansion of happiness, or bishop Trollus and John the almoner.

23. That some very charitable persons find their riches in this world increase faster the faster they give them away: Cosmo de Medicis the great.

24. That content and comforts, as well as riches, are in this world often multiplied by alms-deeds: Gonsalvo Ferrantes the great captain.

25. That the ill lives and ways of many Christians are some of the reasons which hinder Turks from turning Christians: Saladin the Saracen.

Part of the seventh conversation as discoursed on the feast of the holy innocents, 28 Dec. 1631.

26. That the best and fairest promisings of this world are often mere wretchedness and disappointment: the shirt of the happy woman's making, or the great lady of Naples and her son.

27. That all our time here is but lost, save what is spent in God's service: the last sickness and death of Maurice prince of Orange.

28. That they are the most happy who die soonest: a speech of Q. Elizabeth's in 1586.

29. That we ought always to be prepared for death: the dying man who smiled.

30. That every thing which this world affords is nothing but vanity: Gillimer.

Part of the eighth conversation, as discoursed on 29 Decemb. 1631.

31. That there is no reason to doubt of the certainty of a future state: Gennadius the physician, as related by St. Austin.

32. The same: Synesius the bishop and Evagrius the philosopher.

33. The same: Sidonius, bishop of Auvergne and the two wicked priests.

34. The same: Licinius and the forty martyrs.

35. The same: Marcilius Ficinus and Michael Mercatus.

that town. Inscription at the top, in the left corner. *Piu nel' animo. Ætat.* 71. 1617. Another, also an original, was

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Part of the ninth conversation as discoursed on 30 Dec. 1631.

36. The great beauty of humility: St. Anthony.
37. The same: Sara the virgin.
38. The same: the two hermits and the dying lamp.
39. The great beauty of humility further opened: the proud dying hermit and the penitent malefactor.
40. The great beauty of humility further set forth: the self-accuser.

The tenth conversation as discoursed on the 31 Dec. 1631.

41. The great beauty of patience: the noblewoman of Alexandria and the perverse widow.
42. Same: the young man who trod down his own garment.
43. Same: Eulogius and the Leper.
44. Same: Didymus of Alexandria.
45. Same: Casimir, prince of Sendomria and John Coner.
46. Same: St. Gregory and Mauricius the emperor and his son.
47. Same: the oil or the sick hermit and his disciple.
48. Same: Agaton the hermit and the strangers.
49. Same: Anub and his brethren.

The first conversation, as discoursed on the feast of St. Luke the evangelist, 1632, at the election of Mrs. Mary Collett, alias Ferrar, spinster, to be Mother of the religious academy at Little Gidding in the room of her grandmother Mrs. Mary Ferrar widow, who by reason of her great age had desired to resign.

1. The great peril attending high posts: the young man and his uncle the hermit.
2. The great safety of governing by good advice: Cosmo de Medicis and Charles Pucci.
3. That mean persons, justly appointed to any high office, ought to be as much respected as those who are high-born: Amasis and his new golden idol.

The second conversation, as discoursed on the feast of All Saints, 1632 at the entrance of Mrs. Mary Collett &c. into the office of Mother &c. With an account of the several presents which were then made her by the several other members of that society.

4. That the very looks of good men are sometimes sufficient to reclaim sinners: St. Simeon and Usthazanes the eunuch.
5. That the greatest of sinners are sometimes very strangely converted: from the story of Lais the harlot and father Paphnutius the hermit.
5. (2) The same: the harlot and father Martinian the hermit.
6. Same: Pelagia the harlot and Nonnus the bishop of Heliopolis.

presented by Peckard to the master's lodge in Magdalen College, Cambridge. It is somewhat more distinct than Mr.

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The third conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, 1632.

7. Sequel of the story of Lais, &c.

8. That we may now and then gather something of good use out of the words of very ill people: St. Ephraim the hermit and the harlot of Edessa.

9. That the greatest of sinners are sometimes very strangely converted: the same St. E. and another harlot of Edessa.

10. That it signifies nothing to repent unless we at the same time resolve also to make restitution of whatever we have unjustly defrauded others of: the penitent miser and his discourse with his many children.

11. That if other men act amiss, their doing so is no warrant for us to follow their examples: the south-country man and the north-country jury-man.

12. Sequel of the story of Pelagia.

13. That the poor should always be treated with great respect: Ingo, king of the Draves.

14. Same: Amadeus, duke of Savoy.

15. Sequel of story of Licinius.

16. That we must always be ready to lay down our lives for the cause of Christ: Modestus the president of Edessa and the orthodox Christian woman and her child.

17. That no alms is too valuable to be given to the poor: Aidan, bp. of Lindisfarn and Oswi king of the Northumbers.

The fourth conversation as discoursed in the third week of Advent, 1632.

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19. That we must always be ready to lay down our very lives for the cause of Christ: St. Laurence the deacon.

The fifth conversation as discoursed on St. Stephen's day, 1632.

20. That the martyrs of Christ when under the most cruel torments often feel little or no pain: James Bainham.

21. Same: Widow Windelmuta.

22. Same: Marian, a poor woman.

23. Same: Bishop Farrar.

24. Same: Thomas Hawkes.

25. Same: the confession of Bishop Boner.

26. Same: Peter Marchesy and Maurice Monge.

27. Same: lame Hugh Laverock and blind John ap Rice martyred at Stratford le Bow.

28. That the poor are the jewels of the church: St. Macarius and the covetous old maid.

The sixth conversation as discoursed on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1632.

29. That the love of God and virtue ought still to be uppermost in all our thoughts: Theodora and Didymus.

Balfour's, but there is no other difference. At the back is a note stating that it is the portrait of Nicholas Ferrar, father to Mrs. Collett, "the head of our family." Mr. Hughes of Bedfont near Hounslow (whose mother, a daughter of Mr. Hugh Ferrar, bequeathed the two family portraits to Mr. Balfour) has a portrait which he supposes to be that of "*John* (?) Ferrar" the father (?) of N. F.

17. Portrait of Mary Ferrar, the mother, also by Janssen. In Mr. Balfour's possession. Inscription. *Dolce inganno.* Ætat. 62. 1617.

18. Portrait of N. F. by Janssen, presented by Peckard with the father's. Mr. Hughes has another "like that at Magdalen College, Cambridge, but whether copy or original," he does not know.

19. A portrait of Mrs. Ferrar with N. F. when a baby in her arms. In Mr. Hughes's possession.

20. A small portrait of Charles I. in needlework, said to have been executed by one of the Gidding family. In Mr. Hughes's possession.

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30. As 20: Theodorus of Antioch.

31. Same: Marcus bp. of Arethusa.

32. That the persecutors of the saints and martyrs are generally, even at the same instant they afflict those good men and often after, much disturbed with an unusual terror, anguish and confusion of mind: Henry II. of France and the poor tailor of Paris.

The seventh conversation as discoursed on the feast of the holy innocents, 1632.

33. As 20: Romanus of Antioch and the Christian child.

34. That it is the duty of parents not to grieve but to rejoice at what their children suffer for Christ's sake: Mrs. Clerk of Meaux and her son John Clerk.

35. Same: Mrs. Hunt and her son Wm. H.

36. That if there be a due care taken of their education, even children will always be ready to lay down their lives for Christ: Maximian and the two infant martyrs.

The eighth conversation, as discoursed on the feast of Circumcision, 1632.

37. That the clergy and all those who are intended for holy orders ought never to go into taverns: the hermit and the priest.

21. Entries in the Gidding and other registers: inscriptions on tomb-stones &c. See the notes on the pedigree.

22. Over the church door is inscribed (and was, doubtless, in Ferrar's time, though the west front is new), *This is none other but the house of God and the gate of heaven.* On an old brass plate on the right of the church door, *The house of prayer.* In the nave, facing the door as you enter, stands a brazen font, on which are engraved alternately crosses and fleurs-de-lys: originally, as we learn from Lenton, this was surmounted by a cross, but now by a coronet of ruder workmanship, also composed of alternate crosses and fleurs-de-lys. Further on, close to the chancel arch, is a fine brass eagle; the claws, however, having been of silver, have disappeared. Within the chancel arch on the left side is a frame for an hour-glass, supported by a bracket. The communion-table of cedar, with its silk carpet, and brass table containing the creed, Lord's prayer, and commandments are preserved, together with a small piece of the tapestry which the sisters worked for the church. On the silver flagon (of 34¼ oz.) is inscribed.

"What S^r^. Edwyn Sandys bequeathed
To
The remembrance of freindship,
His freinde hath consecrated
To
The Honour of God's Service.
1629."

And on the handle, "For the Church of Little Gidding in Huntingtonshyer." On the offertory dish, "For the Church of Little Gidding of the Guift of Susan Beckwith."

23. The names of some fields in the Gidding estate commemorate events in the family history. Thus *King Close,* where they met king Charles. So probably *Poor folks' pasture, Church Close, Bell Close, Dovehouse Close, Pond Close, Cosens (Cousin's) Close.*

24. "J. J." (? Jebb) supplied Peck with a list of various papers. I insert such as are still unprinted, in the hope that they may yet be recovered.

(Middle Hill MS. 9527.)

A. "At Mr. Mapletoft's at Bifield near Daintry in Northamptonshire.

...2. The grandmother (Mrs. Mary Ferrar's) answer [to the letter in Hearne's *Caius*, 781, 782], beginning with: *What I have taught*, &c.

3. Mary and Ann Collett's letter *To our dear sisters*. Dated 21 Febr. 1631. Subscribed. Mary Collett
Anne Collett.

[To which follows by a later hand.]

'Who both died virgins, resolving [so] to live when they were young, by the grace of God.

My much honoured aunt Mary, who took care of me and my brother Peter and sister Mary after the death of our reverend and pious father Mr. Joshua M. died in the 80th year of her age.

John Mapletoft.

Jan. 22, 1715.'"

B. Then follows another list of papers probably at the same place.

"1. Begins: *It was the same day wherein the church celebrates the great festival of the purification* &c. [printed, but only in part, by Hearne, *Caius*, 713 seq.]. Contains 291 pages. With an index of stories, beginning: *The accuser himself.—Adrian and Marcellus* &c.

This I have. [Peck's note.]

2. Beginning: *The treble admonition which the name and profession of St. Luke &c.* Ending: *of learning.*

This I want. [Peck's note.]

3. [A letter (I think of no great importance) from a father to his son. *an.* 1687. J. J.]

4. Beginning: *Cheerful, pardon me, if I seem importunate.* Ending: *receiver of complaints.* [Partly printed in *Caius*, 783 seq.]"

C. "At Mr. Bunbury's of Great Catworth. Books and MSS. belonging to Mr. John Mapletoft.

1. Of the instruction of children in the Christian doctrine, by Ludovico Carbone, 1636[1]. Wherein is demonstrated how necessary, worthy and acceptable to God this exercise of teaching the Christian doctrine is; and what profit children, masters, private families, cities and the whole church reaps thereby. There are also profitable advertisements given for the good training up of children gathered out of the holy scripture. A work very profitable and necessary for every Christian. Con Privilegii. Printed at Venice by John Guerigli, 1596.

At the end of this book are these words. *Praise be to God and the blessed Virgin Annunciata*[2].—But I say, *Soli Deo gloria.* [N. F.]

This translation was finished the 15 June, 1634, at the request of Edmund Duncon.

[I suppose this book to be of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar's writing, being in a scholarlike hand &c. J. J.]

2. Pia exercitia et documenta, excerpta, composita, scripta, labente ætatis suæ anno lxxx°. per Johannem Collett. [It is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and contains a preface, litanies, prayers, petitions, hymns, exhortations and admonitions against several sins. J. J.] This book is a 4to, handsomely bound in Turkey leather.

3. Collections; part i. of some short sentences out of the holy scriptures upon divers subjects: part ii. Sentences upon the preceding subjects out of divers human authors. [This book is in 8vo. J. J.]

4. A large story book. Folio.

5, 6, 7. Three large books of dialogues. Folio.

8. A large book of stories, with outlandish proverbs at the end, englished by Mr. Geo. Herbert: in all, 463 proverbs. [One story book begins with: *The chief care of parents*

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[1] Peckard seems to have had a MS. copy of this translation, which, he says, was sent to Cambridge to be licensed in 1636, but refused. See above, 51 n.

[2] So far the Italian (Peckard).

*ought to be the good education of children.* ii. *Examples of good children.* This is the story book with proverbs. J. J.]"

D. At the same place.

"1. The book of temperance, by way of dialogue. [One or two stories in it. J. J.]

2. Another book of dialogues, with many stories. Beginning with *The treble admonition.* With an index of the stories at the end.

3. Of the education of children, many stories. Also, wise and witty sayings and actions included in stories. Part ii. Outlandish proverbs &c.

4. Conversations concerning the true end and design of human life and the contempt of the world. Interspersed with many useful stories. [At the beginning are the young ladies' letters, &c. At the end, an index. J. J.]

5. The instruction of children, translated from the Italian, &c. 1634."

25. The translations of Valdesso and Lessius, and Ferrar's preface to Herbert's *Temple.* (See below.)

## *Additional Notes.*

Page 3. n. 3. The other sister was named Joyce. She seems to have died before N. F. took his farewell of the family in 1613. See page 11 § 6. *An only sister.*

Page 7. Barnabas Oley was a most laborious tutor at Clare at the outbreak of the civil war. (See the list of freshmen, nearly all pupils of his, preserved in the college.) See Walker's *Sufferings,* ii. 141, 142, Wood's *Ath.* ii. 667, Bentham's *Ely,* i. 27, *Barwick's Life,* 26 n., Baker in Hearne's *Caius,* 690, his will in Baker's MS. xii. (or xvi? the *Index* gives both volumes) 191, his letter to Dr. Gower, *ibid.* ii. 146. "[I] can satisfy you that the rich man that desired to print Dr. J[ackson]'s works was Mr. Nettleton of University College, and the Cambridge man that solicited it, Mr. Oley of

Clare Hall, who lives in the north privately, near the place of l[ady] Savil's demolished habitation."—Hammond's letter of Jan. 7. [1652–3] in the *Theologian and Ecclesiastic*, xiii. 328. Lady S. lived at Altrop (*Ibid.* vii. 60). "Mr. Oley is living, and, I think, now in L[ondon], but I know not where."—Hammond, March 4. [1650–1]. *Ibid.* vii. 285.

Page 9. line 12. *Officiate himself in person.* "I had likewise observed it ordinary in the universities to preach long without orders as probationers, &c., and accordingly thought myself obliged not to refuse any inoffensive opportunity of doing good by preaching, where it was wanted, &c." *Life of Edmund Trench* (London, 1693), 51.

Page 11. *Mrs. Collett.* A few only of the Collett letters[1]

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[1] For the following table of contents I am chiefly indebted to Mr. Hopkinson.

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | 28 Aug. 1600. | Buttolph Lane, London | Susanna Collett. | Mrs. Elizth. Banderlo, written soon after her marriage to the lady who taught her the French language. She concludes: "Voster amme Tres affectionat." |
| II. | July 1616. | Bourne. | Do. | her brother Richard at Hamborough. |
| III. | 14 Jan. 1627-8. | Gidding. | Do. | her eldest son Thomas, on his intended marriage with Miss Sherington. |
| IV. | 21 Do. | Do. | Do. | Do., on the same subject. |
| V. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin, Arthur Woodnoth, inclosing the above letter to her son Thomas. |
| VI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Mrs. Stead, still on the same subject. |
| VII. | 30 Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Thomas. |
| VIII. | Feb. 1627-8. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley*. |

* Wife of Sir John Bodley, of Streatham, co. Surrey; his mother, a daughter of Humphrey Collett of Southwark, was cousin to John C. Sir J. B. was knighted at Warwick, Sept. 5, 1617. Nichols's *Progr. of James I.* iii. 435. Cf. Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii. 432, 438.

can here be given; they will suffice to prove that she was not unworthy of her race.

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IX. | Feb. 1627-8. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her aunt Collett. |
| X. | April 1628. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward: good advice to him as an apprentice. |
| XI. | July 1628. | Do. | Do. | her son Thomas, on his recent marriage: the pair are expected at Gidding. |
| XII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur Woodnoth. |
| XIII. | Nov. 1628. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward. |
| XIV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas, then in service with Arthur Woodnoth. |
| XV. | 24 Nov. 1628. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Susanna Mapletoft, soon after her marriage. |
| XVI. | Dec. 1628. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley, on Susanna Mapletoft's marriage, sent by her son. |
| XVII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Anna, then at Margetting, (or Margaretting, in Essex), on a visit to her sister Mapletoft. |
| XVIII. | 30 Dec. 1628. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward. |
| XIX. | 2 Mar. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | N. F. |
| XX. | 12 Mar. 1629-30. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft, who has her sister Margaret with her. |
| XXI. | 28 May 1629. | Do. | Do. | Do.; speaks of Mrs. M.'s daughter, "little Nan:" "We thank God for your own and my dear Peggie's recovery." |
| XXII. | June 1629. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley, proposing in July to visit with her daughter lady B. in Essex. |
| XXIII. | July 1629. | Margetting. | Do. | Aunt Collett, written during a visit (with her daughter Hester) to the Mapletofts. She had hoped to have borne a part in the training of her aunt's daughter Julia. |
| XXIV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her brother Ferrar [illegible] |

From a letter to "aunt Collett," Febr. 1627–8.

"I suppose you may have expected to have heard from me upon occasion of the late business touching my son; and

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| XXV. | Aug. 1629. | Margetting. | Mrs. Collett. | her mother, Mrs. Ferrar, announcing the birth (on the Friday) of Mary Mapletoft. |
| XXVI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her brother Nicholas. |
| XXVII. | Sept. 1629. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| XXVIII. | 5 Oct. 1629. | Gidding. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: who has her sister Hester with er. |
| XXIX. | 26 Oct. 1629. | Do. | Do. | Do. N. F. unexpectedly called to London. |
| XXX. | Nov. 1629. | Do. | Do. | N. F. in London. |
| XXXI. | 23 Nov. 1629. | Do. | Do. | her son (in law) Mapletoft. |
| XXXII. | 13 Dec. 1629. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| XXXIII. | 18 Dec. 1629. | Do. | Do. | Do. N. F. had returned home in good health. |
| XXXIV. | 24 Jan. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | her cousin lady Smart. [Anne wife of sir Ned Fracy S. who died in 1628.] |
| XXXV. | 11 Jan. 1626-7. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas: who is going on well; his brother Ned's conduct causes her much trouble. |
| XXXVI. | 22 Feb. 1629-30. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft; mentions "little Mall and Nan." |
| XXXVII. | 1 Mar. 1629-30. | Do. | Do. | N. F. |
| XXXVIII. | 1 June 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward. |
| XXXIX. | 19 July 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas; his master has given a good account of him. |
| XL. | 26 July 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward, who has not written to his parents for one whole year. |
| XLI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| XLII. | 6 Sept. 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward, "who still after so many admonitions neglects to write a letter." |
| XLIII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| XLIV. | 4 Oct. 1630. | Do. | Do. | The same. "Your sister Anna has had some fits of |

indeed I had performed it, but that the answering my son's letters every week hath taken up that space of time which the carrier affords us between the delivery of his letters and the calling for of our answer. And now my brother Nicholas

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
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| | | | | an ague—Dorothy's quartain continues." |
| XLV. | 4 Oct. 1630. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her cousin Wright: speaks of "the perfect health and (I may well say, and bless God for it) the great strength and ability both of body and mind of my dear mother." |
| XLVI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her aunt Collett: her son Thomas and his wife are resolved to leave Gidding and keep house in London. |
| XLVII. | 18 Oct. 1630. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley, at Streatham. "I understand my cousin Parkes is with you at Streatham." |
| XLVIII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas: has been much comforted by his letters. |
| XLIX. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter (in law) Collett. |
| L. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LI. | 16 Nov. 1630. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| LII. | 22 Nov. 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett. |
| LIII. | 28 Nov. 1630. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas. |
| LIV. | 6 Dec. 1630. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LV. | 10 Jan. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett: his wife is exhorted to nurse her child herself. A copy of a prayer offered in their behalf at Gidding was sent with the letter. |
| LVI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft; on her sickness. |
| LVII. | 12 Feb. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | N. F. |
| LVIII. | 22 Feb. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LIX. | 1 Mar. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett. |
| LX. | 14 Mar. 1630-1. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LXI. | 28 Mar. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas. |

being to come up, I think it superfluous; for he is able and hath full authority to give satisfaction in all things, and if

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LXII. | 4 April 1631. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her daughter Mapletoft: death of Aunt Collett, and of an old acquaintance Mrs. Harris. Good advice as to her little daughter Mal now beginning to talk: education second nature, the philosopher's whelps. |
| LXIII. | 11 April 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter (in law) Collett: mentions "my little Mat," and cousins John and Henry. |
| LXIV. | 28 April 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: her son Edward's misconduct in his service under Mr. Brown. |
| LXV. | April 1631. | Do. | Do. | her husband in London: Edward to be sent out to the Somer Islands or the Indies; cousin Arthur, Mr. Buckeridge and Mr. Strange offer their help. |
| LXVI. | 26 April 1631. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur; still about Edward. |
| LXVII. | 2 May 1631. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett: on the same matter: cousin Arthur's generosity. |
| LXVIII. | May 1631. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur, expressing her gratitude. |
| LXIX. | June 1631. | Margetting. | Do. | N. F. |
| LXX. | Do. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley, with a present. |
| LXXI. | 21 June 1631. | Do. | Do. | her mother; speaks of little John being born (son of Mrs. Mapletoft) on the 15th. |
| LXXII. | 16 June 1631. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Wright: begs remembrance "to my good cousin your husband, my good cousin Ferrar your brother and his wife." |
| LXXIII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Thomas Collett. |
| LXXIV. | July 1631. | Do. | Do. | her sister Ferrar then in |

my son cheerfully submit his judgement and affections to his directions, I shall not doubt of a happy issue."

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
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| | | | | London; asking her to return home with her. |
| LXXV. | 24 July 1631. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her son Collett: wishing him to prevent his brother's going abroad, and to improve him in writing and accounts. |
| LXXVI. | 28 July 1631. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley. |
| LXXVII. | 1 Aug. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LXXVIII. | 18 Aug. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett, whose brother has gone to live with him. |
| LXXIX. | 29 Aug. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft; whose husband is expected at Gidding. |
| LXXX. | 8 Sept. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter (in law) Collett: thanks for her care of her husband: inquires after little Matt. |
| LXXXI. | 26 Sept. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur Woodnoth. |
| LXXXII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft, whose husband has been at Gidding. |
| LXXXIII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas. |
| LXXXIV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Thomas: death of her cousin Mrs. Wright: his brother is not to be trusted out of the house even to go to school. |
| LXXXV. | 13 Oct. 1631. | Do. | Do. | Robert Bateman, chamberlain of London; thanks for his advice to her son Edward. |
| LXXXVI. | 17 Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| LXXXVII. | 21 Do. | Do. | Do. | N. F. |
| LXXXVIII. | 28 Do. | Do. | Nich. Ferrar. | Mrs. Collett. |
| LXXXIX. | 26 Do. | Do. | Mrs. Collett. | lady Bodley. |
| XC. | 28 Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Thomas: Mr. Collett purposes going to Margetting and thence to London: to set forward on Wednesday. |

"To her cousin Arthur Woodnoth, July 1628, on receiving his son Ralph into the house at Gidding.

Dear cousin,

I am glad we have received such a pledge of you, whereby though we cannot make requital, yet we shall

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
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| XCI. | 30 Oct. 1631. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her husband: yesterday a letter from their son Ned promising amendment. |
| XCII. | 7 Nov. 1631. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| XCIII. | 28 Do. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| XCIV. | 2 Jan. Do. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley: sends a balsam for aches. |
| XCV. | 12 Jan. 1631-2. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas: whose master is sick. |
| XCVI. | 18 Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur Woodnoth. |
| XCVII. | 30 Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur Woodnoth: thanks on account of her son Edward. |
| XCVIII. | 1 Feb. Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: desires her prayers for her brother Edward going on his voyage. |
| XCIX. | Mar. Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur: congratulation on his recovery; thanks for his good offices to her sons Nicholas and Edward. |
| C. | 19 Mar. Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: her son Edward had sailed from Gravesend. |
| CI. | Mar. Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett: expects the organs from London for Gidding. |
| CII. | 8 April 1632. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Collett: weaning her daughter Matt. |
| CIII. | 30 Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| CIV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett: as to managing his trust for cousin Wright's child. |
| CV. | 21 May 1632. | Do. | Do. | Do. ["The time having been term, and, I hope, your employment, if not so much for others, yet for your own |

strive to make proof of that thankfulness and love which we owe you for your care of ours. Believe it, Ralph shall not want what lies in our power, and as we shall truly love him with the selfsame kind of affection which we do our own, so

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
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| | | | | benefit and improvement of knowledge in your own profession."] |
| CVI. | 22 May 1632. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her daughter Mapletoft: whose sisters had written offering to take charge of some of her children. |
| CVII. | 23 Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur: thanks for his kindness to his servant, her son Nicholas. |
| CVIII. | 11 June 1632. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| CIX. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett. |
| CX. | 8 July 1632. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft; whose uncle (Nicholas) had written to advise her to accept her sisters' offer. |
| CXI. | 9 Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas: rebukes him for his negligence in omitting to write. |
| CXII. | 16 Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Collett. |
| CXIII. | 30 Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| CXIV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | N. F. |
| CXV. | July 1632. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley: sends balsam for her grandchild. |
| CXVI. | No date. | Margetting. | Do. | her brother [John] Ferrar: her daughter Mapletoft delivered of another son, cousin Arthur gives good report of all at Gidding. Mr. Post with cousin Arthur. |
| CXVII. | No date. | Gidding. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft. |
| CXVIII. | No date. | Do. | Do. | her son Collett, whose brother Nicholas is dangerously ill. |
| CXIX. | 16 Nov. 1632. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: on the death of her son: ["Your daughter's duty I must not forget, she being so very careful to have it remembered."] |

shall we endeavour to train him up in the selfsame disposition of mind which we desire to see in ours. Which although at

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CXX. | 3 Dec. 1632. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her daughter Collett. |
| CXXI. | Do. | Do. | Do. | her son Nicholas: on his recovery from a dangerous sickness. |
| CXXII. | Do. | Do. | Do. | lady Aucher*: sends her balsam: congratulates her on her daughter's marriage. |
| CXXIII. | 4 Jan. 1632-3. | | Hester lady Aucher. | "her sweet cousin Mrs. Collett:" letter of thanks. |
| CXXIV. | 10 Dec. 1632. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | lady Bodley: love and service to cousin Parkes and cousin Jane. |
| CXXV. | 18 Do. | Do. | Do. | her son-in-law Mapletoft. |
| CXXVI. | 26 Jan. 1632-3. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley. |
| CXXVII. | 28 Do. | Do. | Do. | her daughter Mapletoft: all at Gidding well: including Mrs. M.'s daughter Mall, who gives proof of good parts. |
| CXXVIII. | No date. | Do. | Do. | lady Bodley. |
| CXXIX. | June 1633 | Do. | Do. | her daughter Collett: about her family. |
| CXXX. | Nov. Do. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Rebecca Parkes, whom she thanks for proposing Mrs. Benit as a match for her son Nicholas, now almost out of his time for service. |
| CXXXI. | Feb. 1633-4. | Do. | Do. | her son Edward in the East Indies: his deliverance from a calamity by fire. Mr. Chew, his patron. ["I give you in charge not only the reading but the putting in practice those precepts contained in the written book which I send you, and in so doing I am confident |

* Daughter of sir John Collett of London, and wife of sir Anth. A. of Bishopsbourne, Kent, where he was buried, July 4, 1637, and she Dec. 4, 1637. See Hasted's *Kent*, iii. 745, 747, Nichols's *Progr. Jas. I.* i. 440.

beginning they will seem a little harsh, yet by practice they will grow easy, I doubt not, to him, and the end will be full

| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | you shall thereby more improve even your worldly prosperity of estate, than by any stock of the most vendible commodities that can be sent you to traffic with. I send you also three books of Mr. Herbert's, which are here (and worthily) of great esteem: if they shall prove so with you, you may please some of my friends."] |
| CXXXII. | No date. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | N. F. |
| CXXXIII. | April 1634. | Do. | Do. | her cousin Arthur Woodnoth, on her son's return to his service. |
| CXXXIV. | May Do. | Do. | Do. | Do.: a proposal made by him for her son. |
| CXXXV. | Do. | Do. | Do. | Susanna Beckwith (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ii. 636, 638): in answer to the following. |
| CXXXVI. | 12 Do. | Aldborough, Yorkshire. | Susanna Beckwith. | Mrs. Collett. Condolence on death of old Mrs. Ferrar. |
| CXXXVII. | 12 Mar. 1634-5. | Mersham, Kent. | lady Mary Knatchbull. | Do. ["I am truly sensible of the loss of such neighbours; the loss of that glorified saint (Joshua Mapletoft) now with God doth reflect double on me, not only in him, but in them likewise. I am so sorry for their going from hence, that truly I think the worse of my dwelling: I think there will come a supply to the parsonage: but none so endeared to me as these gentlewomen."] |
| CXXXVIII. | Dec. 1634. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her daughter Hester: in prospect of her marriage: mentions her cousin Massingberd. |

of joy and comfort to himself and his friends; which God grant.

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
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| CXXXII. | June 1635. | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | her daughter Kestian: disapproving of her son Nicholas's proposing to a Collett. |
| CXL. | Thursday. | | Joseph Ayloffe. | Mrs. Collett; as to her son Edward's marrying the youngest daughter of his sister lady Thomas. Her portion £500 from lands in Horsey Downs, and £600 from lands in Lincolnshire, "whereof the parliament have propounded that for one half we shall enjoy the other." |
| CXLI. | | Do. | Mrs. Collett. | Joseph Ayloffe: in answer to the above. |
| CXLII. | | Do. | Do | her son Edward: respecting his marrying Mr. Ayloffe's niece. |
| CXLIII. | 16 Nov. | Do. | lady Mary Thomas*. | Joseph Ayloffe: "your unruly niece and my weak-headed daughter, whom I gave leave to get her health, and not a husband." |
| CXLIV. | Jan. 20. 1645-6. | Do. | Mrs. Joanna Collett. | Mrs. Collett: proffering her duty as a daughter. |
| CXLV. | 23 Sept. | Streatham. | Mrs. Mary Brocas (daughter of sir John Bodley). | her cousin Mrs. Collett. |
| CXLVI. | 28 Oct. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| CXLVII. | Do. | Do. | Barnard Brocas (the son). | Do. |
| CXLVIII. | 2 June | Do. | Mrs. M. Brocas. | Do. |
| CXLIX. | | Bourne. | Mrs. Frances Hagar. | Mrs. Collett: complains of being accused of causing Peck to injure Mrs. Collett's parsonage† at Bourne. |

* Daughter of sir William A. of Great Braxted, Essex, knt. and bart., half sister to Jos. A. barrister at law, aunt of Wm. A. of Bassingbourn, Cambr. See Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii. 196, 200, Nichols's *Progr. of Jas. I.* iii. 565.

† The impropriation now belongs to Chr. Coll. Camb.

My brother hath told us of many new kindnesses (the fruit of your old love) towards my children, besides those to himself, which I esteem the first and chiefest; they be so many and great as passing the ordinary bounds of affection in you, are not with words to be requited on our parts: and therefore I say nothing, but that we owe you more in all this than we can pay, save in love. My daughter Mary hath not been well of late, but I hope in God she mends, and though we all hope to see you shortly, yet she prays me to write you, she hath with much joy embraced her uncle Nicholas's proposition, and though she cannot sufficiently answer your expectation touching your niece, yet she will not fail in the truth and highth of affection towards her good, if you think fit. And so with all our best prayers I commit you to God."

"To my dearest brother Nicholas, March 2, 1630–1.

My most dear brother,

Since your first offer to me (of that which in all reason should have been either my suit or my want) that is, to give me your best assistance upon the revealing thereof, to the attaining of my own desires:—I have, I confess, had many conflicts within myself, in what bounds to limit them. But upon a strict examination of what hath passed in all my life hitherto, I have found that those hopes and expectations which I had fancied to myself would in the fruition prove most happy, they have not seldom deceived me. I have therefore now resolved by God's grace not to make any choice

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| | Date. | Place. | From | To |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CL. | | Bourne. | Mrs. Frances Hagar. | Mrs. Collett. |
| CLI. | | Do. | Do. | Do.: offers to rent at £300 per annum: cannot give the rent asked by Mr. Collett. |
| CLII. | | Gidding. | Mrs. Collett. | Mrs. Frances Hagar: offers the land &c. at £340 per annum. |
| CLIII. | | Do. | Do. | Do. "Mr. Scargon offered £320 and was refused." |

for myself, but commit myself wholly to Him to dispose of my future estate which He hath hitherto so graciously provided for me. And for the things of this life my greatest desire is, that I may desire nothing but to rest content and fully satisfied with what estate soever He shall place me in, and with all thankful acknowledgement of His unspeakable mercy towards me to endeavour the performance of those duties which He requires of me, both to Himself and to all those to whom I have special reference of duty or love, and that I may be the more strongly confirmed in this purpose, by framing my actions as is most befitting my present condition, I not only beseech your prayers but your counsels and directions. And for my daughter Betty, my desire is that she may be trained up in the true fear of God and exercise of humility and obedience, and set in a course whereby she may attain such wisdom for the right ordering of her mind, that howsoever it shall please God to settle her, she may by a right use make either a prosperous estate happy, or a mean contented. And if you shall please to assist me with your counsel for the effecting of this both in myself and her, I shall ever acknowledge it amongst the greatest of those many benefits, which it has pleased God to make you the instrument of to me and all mine, who shall ever rest in all due acknowledgement.

Your most bounden and much obliged sister

SUSANNA COLLETT."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. From Margetting. Aug. 1629.

Your letters were by us received on Saturday, and, as we guess, about the same time that ours were delivered unto you; and assuring ourselves that there is such a sympathy in our affections, we are as confident they did both at the same time work the like effects in all and every one of us, interchanging each with other mutual comfort, by the good tidings in both, yours of the health of all our dearest friends, ours of such joy as made us even forget the past sorrows, and hath given us

cause to say, Great is the Lord and great is His power, yea His mercies are infinite. Now whereas you are pleased not only to acquaint me how you have proceeded in the motion made by Mr Sa, but also to require my approbation, and, not resting there, desire also my opinion of it: For the first, I shall not only give it to the one part of your answer, but applaud it as most judiciously resolved on, neither to send for Hester, nor offer two to the choice: for the other part of your letter, I can say little to it, only I will persuade myself, since you have done it, (and with such consent) that you are able to shew better reasons for it, than my present apprehensions are capable of; and as my continual prayers shall be that all may prove for the best, so shall my hopes be that it will. Let this, I beseech you satisfy for answer to that which is past, and for the future I would have said nothing, had not you likewise desired my opinion, but left it to yourself and my dearest friends with you both to consider and determine of, as those whose judgements are not by me to be questioned, and whose love to me and mine I am most confident cannot be paralleled by any in the like kind. Give me leave only to say thus much, that such is my affection to my dear Anna, that it would be most heavy to me to see her bestowed on any man that did not willingly, nay most desirously, make choice of her. But doubting neither of your love nor wisdom, I dare leave it to God and yourselves to proceed in or to suppress the motion as you shall think fittest, and God, I trust, shall direct you. For our health here, blessed be God, it is good, only Su. doth not recover her strength so much as is usual in her estate; but I trust she shall in good time, and the longer it is in growing, the better I hope it will continue with her. We all beseech you to remember our most humble and bounden duties to my most dear mother, and in our names to crave her blessing upon us all. My good son desires his love and respect may be remembered to all in particular, and with the like desire from myself and my humblest prayers to God for the continuance of His mercies towards us I leave and rest."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. From Margetting. September 1629.

I see now that all common sayings do not always hold good, for you have disproved that, Out of sight out of mind, for though we here have some a longer, some a shorter time been debarred from that comfort which the presence of our friends did always afford us, yet, even in this absence, your love to us hath been confirmed under many seals. For your agreement upon Hester's stay here for a while longer, as also myself in especial give you many thanks, for as it will be a great comfort to my dear Su., so I hope by God's mercy, He giving her health, it will be no less content to Hester to shew kindness than to receive it. For our resolutions what time to take our journey, we never concluded upon it, but desired that you would not only advise but determine of it. Only by the way, at my husband's last being here he spake of setting forth from hence as on Monday next, because my son desired to begin our journey on a Monday that he might reach Lincolnshire by the Friday after, but what Monday, he is very indifferent. It was only fear of foul weather and Essex bad ways made us think of going so soon, but we expect the resolution from you, for as yet we have made none. We all here beseech you to present our most humble and bounden duties to my most dear mother, our dearest love remembered to yourself, my good brother Ferrar and brother Richard (who I hope is yet with you), my sister and all other friends. I commit you to God's protection and rest ever."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. Nov. 1629.

My most dear brother,

The carrier's long stay made us very solicitous, but blessed be God the news which he brought made amends for our expectations, namely of your good health, it being one of our great comforts; the continuance whereof and the good success in your troublesome and weighty affairs shall I trust be daily recommended unto God in our earnest and fervent prayers. And now, though the multitude and weightiness

of those businesses which we cannot but fear do already overburthen you, may justly cause me to think it most unseasonable to trouble you with more, yet the experience of your former love (which by the effects hath ever shewed itself to take pleasure in overlading itself when it may tend to the easing of others) makes me bold to entreat your serious consideration of this letter inclosed, and if you shall approve of it, to send it, if not, yet to let him have notice by some means that the money is sent. We send not his letter, being not material, for you may by this answer see the effect thereof. It was my brother Ferrar's and all our opinions not to let this occasion slip, but to give notice how distasteful this title is: but if you shall not think it done in right manner, my request is you will please to give a better direction against next week. I thank God for that we hear of their health at Margetting; Pegg's letter I hope will suffice for this week, and the next week I shall willingly return my son that thanks which not only his love deserves, but that my affection desires to give him."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. March 1. 1629–30.

My most dear brother,

Your letters were most gladly read, they confirming us in that hope of your health which by the carrier's negligence we could the last week receive no other testimony of than by his own report. And now I beseech you to accept of my most hearty and affectionate thanks for your so constant perseverance in the manifestation of your unparalleled love and care of me and mine, and in particular that you have been pleased not only to visit but to afford them your company so long at Margetting, where I doubt not but, by God's help, the joy to see you and the good counsel you have left with them, will be a means of my dearest Su.'s speedier recovery of health. For your letters also my husband and myself acknowledge ourselves bound and do still desire that you will be pleased to take the like course with any that shall come hereafter. And though time may perchance hardly

permit it, yet the necessity of the occasion makes me bold to entreat from you a full and ample advice how to carry that business, which, as it seems, can now no ways be avoided. My dear brother Ferrar, who, as he best can, will sufficiently inform you of every particular of our estate here. Only I cannot pass over the acknowledgement of God's mercy to us all in that which is so main a pillar of our comforts, the health of our dearest mother, which I beseech Him long to continue and make us truly thankful for it. Let me entreat you to remember my most kind love to my good cousin Arthur and all other friends. With my prayers to God for your health and prosperous success in all your affairs I commit you to God's protection."

From a letter to her eldest son, who had newly set up as housekeeper. Nov. 22. 1630.

"The book which your sister sent you in the last week I doubt not but you have read before this (though in your letter to your grandmother you mention it not), which upon a diligent survey I am assured you cannot but read in it the character of a most unparalleled love and unwearied pains and carefulness in the contriving thereof for your benefit. God for His mercy's sake grant you may in some measure answer them all, the first in a return, the other in imitation; and that you may with all speed resolve and constantly put in execution the practice of that which is contained therein."

Given my dear brother Nicholas. Feb. 12. 1630–1.

"Good brother,

Since you are pleased to desire that every one whom you have acquainted with my son Mapletoft's propositions should set down their opinions in writing, I cannot refuse to do it, though I should have been glad first to have had the advice of others, especially your own, that so I might the better be able to judge what course were likeliest to prove comfortable to them both: but since it chiefly and almost wholly concerns my daughter in that kind, that which must be considered of is, as I think, what is best for her to do, the

things in question being such as tend either to easing her of trouble, avoiding of pain, or procuring some pleasure or content to her mind. Now my opinion is, that if she shall purchase any of these with the displeasure either of God, her husband, or her friends, she will with much bitterness repent the bargain. Therefore my counsel in general is that she be most wary not to foil herself in this kind.

Now, for the three first positions, I conceive them to be such, as should they be yielded unto, would in themselves be no way displeasing to God, but as they have relation to others and chiefly her husband, whose liking or dislike will make that either good or evil which simply in itself is not so. And first, for her going to see her brother and sister, I cannot foresee any harm likely to have ensued thereof; but should rather have hoped the quite contrary and that their kind visitations and conversing together at times convenient might be a means to increase such love between them as might prove of good consequence to them both. For keeping another maid, I am not able to say what is best, but shall rather wish her to try the uttermost of her own strength, which, by God's blessing, may be increased unto her that she shall not have such need of a maid as may now be feared she will. Concerning one of her sisters going to her; though it might for the time be a great comfort to her, yet, considering that it may please God and is most likely that she may often have as great need of such helps in the same kind, and no probability that she shall often enjoy their company, I think it as good for her to satisfy herself with those comforts that she may have nearer hand, and not to be troubled in longing after that which is so doubtful she might. But for the nursing of her child when it shall please God to send it her, I would advise her not so much as to think of doing it by any but herself, but to resolve to do what possibly she may, though it should be with much pains, and leave the issue to God, for I cannot but doubt the putting of it forth would prove to her a matter of so much grief and trouble of mind, that though she were sure by that means to enjoy it,

yet she would think her health bought at too dear a rate. Thus according to my ability you have my advice, but I leave the solution to better judgements, and shall heartily beseech God to direct in the choice of what is best.

S. C."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. From Margetting. June 1631.

My most dear brother,

We all here in the first place give God hearty thanks for the good news of our friends' health and welfare at Gidding, together with yours and all friends with you, and humbly beseech the continuance thereof and all other blessings; and secondly, I beseech you to accept of my most hearty thanks for your letter, wishing I could have returned that news, which we are well assured your prayers join with ours for, and which I trust through God's mercy shall in due time prove to all our comforts. I send with this a letter directed to my most dear mother, which is left to your sealing, part of it being intended for yourself, who I am assured, are so united in affections with all at Gidding, that I presume it can no way be displeasing to be joined in anything that may prove of good consequence to others, though more than troublesome to yourself. I shall therefore the more earnestly beseech you will not deny me your counsel; because I am confident that, by God's assistances you are the best able to judge both of his disposition and what might be likeliest in such an uncertainty, to bring him to a greater sense of his own ill case, and serious endeavours, as much as possibly he may to regain first pardon from God for his sin against Him, and so the assurance of the safety of his soul, and then, if God shall please to see it good for him, the repair of his now seeming lost hopes for the things of this life. Thus once again beseeching you will grant this my request, with my humblest prayers to God for His blessing upon this and all that you shall undertake for His glory, your own and others'

good, I take my leave and rest ever, your most obliged and loving sister S. C.

Let my most affectionate love I beseech you be remembered to my dear cousin Arthur."

"To my dear brother Nicholas. Oct. 21. 1631.

My most dear brother,

Since I entreated your help for the draught of a letter to Mr. B. I have gathered by your denial and by your speeches (and the more at the receipt of my cousin Arthur's letter), that you do not well approve of my son's going to the Indies, which before that time I did not conceive that you disliked of the course as evil, but only in regard of the difficulties that we are like to meet with in procuring his entertainment and his insufficiency to discharge any place in that kind. For the first, I thought it not best to give over the attempting it by the best means we could use, and we are in hope that God would please to make it effectual. For his abilities, I confess, I have been so doubtful, that I have not only troubled, but much perplexed my mind ever since, and though we have desired such a place as we think will not require any great abilities, nor he be put in much trust, yet the only hope that I have of his well-doing is only in God's mercy, Who can give wisdom to the simple and grace to them that are most unworthy, even when in men's judgement they are most uncapable of the receiving it, and my trust is that He will hear the prayers of so many as I hope will continually be intercessory for him. Besides I do conceive well of the means, that the length of the voyage, the danger of peril in the way, the good orders that are kept in the ship, the necessity forcing him to be observant to so many that are in authority above him, the discretion he shall see in others in applying themselves to perform their charge, may by God's grace work the like care in him and bring him to a more feeling apprehension of his past faults, and so to a more hearty repentance and endeavour of amendment every way. And in this I was the more confirmed by Mr. Buckridge,

who was the first mentioner of sending him thither, as thinking it absolutely the best way we could set him in, and this was seconded by Mr. Bateman and my cousin Massenberd their approbation thereof, as of a course wherein a sober man might do exceeding well, and gave instances of some but ill disposed before their going thither to have come home sober and discreet men. Yet notwithstanding, perceiving now some opinions of such great danger of evil, I shall humbly beseech yours, whether upon these grounds we may not still desire this for him, and have as good hope of his well-doing in this, as in any other course which we shall be able to set him in, for I profess [for] my own part, I would not hazard a more imminent danger to his soul for a more certainty of his temporal preferment. If you therefore will please to give me your opinion and counsel herein, I shall by God's grace endeavour to follow it and shall ever acknowledge it for an addition to those many favours and that obligation wherein myself and all mine stand bound to you in the highth of all love and duty. Your loving sister to you much obliged S. C."

The answer given Oct. 28. 1631.

"Dear Sister

As I am partner in your cares, so shall I, God willing, in your prayers to God for the good success of the business, but counsel is too late to ask when the business is brought almost to upshot. Your reasons do not satisfy me, my own and others' fears trouble me. I cannot therefore be a setter forward by my approbation nor will be a hinderer of it, because I have no certainty of exception against the employment itself, and I see your husband's and your own mind strongly bent to the going forward of it, to which I shall never make any exception in any matter touching your children but upon evidence of error on your parts, and that in the very substance and essence of the business: but as for circumstantial errors (God willing) I will not stand upon

them; some such have been committed in this matter, but I freely pass them over, as much as concerns me: only one, out of the same love which makes me forget the rest, I am bound to remember, that is, the burthening your son Thomas with Edward's diet, which I did not suspect you had intended, till my mother told me it. I am afraid, nay, I am almost assured, it will prove every way of evil consequence: if you doubt so too, you have for the making him satisfaction one of your ten pounds remaining of the 20, and also your husband hath free liberty to dispose of the 20 nobles a year overplus which remains of the £20 rent, besides your own and sister's allowance. I desire it to be reserved for the exercise of your bounty towards a son; if you will use it to the benefit of a couple I shall not hold it an alteration but an improvement of your first resolution. I have no more to say in this business, but that you hearken diligently what God saith unto you in it and follow His direction, and all shall I hope prove to the best, He will not fail to instruct you if you call upon Him faithfully. To His good grace I commit you and by His grace continue your faithful loving brother N. F."

"To my daughter Mapletoft. July 30. 1632.

That you have so long enjoyed the company of your uncle we cannot envy, because we account ourselves to have a great part in anything that befals you whether good or evil. Otherways the repining of our own want would have caused us to wish your loss and his more speedy return: but we will hope his stay was the longer at Margetting, because he purposed to make it the shorter elsewhere. We hope of his coming home this week; which if he do, I shall, if it please God, be with you sooner than I had formerly purposed, however I doubt not but by God's mercy it shall be in good time. Him I beseech to send both a good meeting and comfortable parting when the time shall come. All friends commend their dearest loves to you, and you in their prayers to the gracious protection of the Almighty.

Your loving mother S. C."

it to be the ablest man in the world therein. I of him, he said, and that he would for ever h that he was born in. And as for his skill in all learning, continued he, all the kingdom, I th or, if he lives, will.

Upon this great recommendation the maste of the mercers' company came to Nicholas Ferr him to accept of the geometry professor's place should set down his own terms. Neither coul hinder him much in his other business, for t only to be read in term time.

Nicholas Ferrar most humbly thanked them honour which they would have put upon him: his good friend Mr. Briggs was much mistake that his affection and goodness towards him l judgement. He was, he said (who best knev fittest judge of his own inability and want o geometry as Mr. Briggs had declared to be in therefore prayed them to pitch upon some othe man; whereof, he said, Mr. Briggs knew many self, he said, though he should always do al serve the noble city of London, the place of his that most commendable and pious foundation Gresham (the founder of that and many other l liberal sciences), yet he must not undertake t knew he was at best but a novice in; nor in studies bend that way. He had indeed (he tol other good ends, if God thought fit to bring the

Page 19. lines 12 and 23. 1624. 162..MS.

Page 20. line 4. *often.* *and often.* MS.

———— 5. *such.* such *and such.* MS.

———— 9 and 10. *were.* was MS.

Page 21. line 6 from foot. *on sir.* on *by* sir.

Page 22. line 4. *act.* *an* act. MS.

———— note 3. Southampton entrusted th Killegrew, who bequeathed them to sir Edwa afterwards earl of Dorset. (Peckard).

Page 24. line 1. 1626. MS. 1625. which will not agree with § 20. Peckard also has 1626.

Page 25. line 4. *future.* So Baker first wrote, but corrected it into *fortune.*

Page 25. line 7 from foot. *most. and* most. MS.

Page 26 § 26. "By his will dated 25 Aug. 1629 sir Edwin Sandys appointed his wife Katherine sole executor. On her death Nicholas Ferrar of London gent. is substituted executor and guardian of his children.

A piece of silver plate of the value of £10 is given to N. F. (and to testator's son Henry) in respect of their being called on to assist his wife in her duties."—*Mr. Hopkinson's note.*

Page 26 § 27. line 1. *in* London. *at* L. MS.

Page 27 n. Mr. Thristcross. Once fellow of Magd. Coll. Cambr. See *Barwick's Life,* 339 n.

Page 29 n. "Mr. Barwick, according to the custom of his college and of the primitive church, used to worship God by bowing towards the east." *Barwick's Life,* 17. "Do you know of any parson, vicar, or curate...that make three curtesies towards the communion-table, that call the said table an altar, that enjoin their people at coming into the church to bow towards the east or towards the communion-table?"—No. 5 of Williams's *Visitation Articles* (1641) in *Grey on Neal's second vol.,* 280. "We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgement, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in, and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive church in the purest times, and of this church also for many years of the reign of queen Elizabeth."—*Seventh Canon of* 1640.

Page 33 § 32 line 2. *some. so* MS.

———— 5 from foot. *organ.* organs. MS.

Page 35 line 6. *them. that* MS.

Page 36 line 6 from foot. *beginning. being.* MS.

Page 37 line 3. *the organs. and* the organs. MS.

Page 41 line 10. *young. younger.* MS.

Page 45 line 7. *only not. not only.* MS.

Page 47 n. M.A. 1642. *read* 1643. *Crashaw* often joined in these vigils, and watched also in Little St. Mary's near Peterhouse (Peckard, who cites Horne's approving remark in his *Comm. on Ps.* 134. See the preface to *Steps to the Temple.*)

Page 47. note 2. In the sisters' eighth conversation (Circumcision, 1632) after mention made of "the Oxford scholar, who on Midsummer Eve killed the barber at the Pope's head in London," and "the Cambridge scholars, in whose company the lieutenant was slain at the Mitre," the Moderator (Mrs. Collett) said, "I will give now by way of recipe to my son, whom my prayers and vows have set apart for this holy calling, that he keep himself pure and undefiled from this evil usage of the world, and whenever he is invited to a tavern or ale-house, let him answer, *his mother gave him charge to the contrary.*"—Middle Hill MS. 9527. (story 37).

Page 49 line 2. *entreated.* added by Baker.

Page 51 n. *The hundred and ten considerations of Signior John Valdesso: treating of those things which are most profitable, most necessary, and most perfect in our Christian profession. Written in Spanish, brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and first set forth in Italian at Basil by Cœlius Secundus Curio, Anno* 1550. *Afterward translated into French, and Printed at Lions* 1563. *and again at Paris* 1565. *And now translated out of the Italian Copy into English, with notes. Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Authors, or a Preface to his Divine Commentary upon the Romans.* 1 *Cor.* 2. *Howbeit we speak wisdome amongst them that are perfect, yet not the wisdome of this world. Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the Vniversity. Ann. Dom.* 1638. 4to. (A).

*Divine Considerations treating* &c.—*profession. By John Valdesso.* 1 *Cor.* 2. 6. *Howbeit—world. Cambridge: Printed for E. D. by Roger Daniel, Printer to the University.* 1646. sm. 8vo. (B).

Both these editions and also the French translation of 1565 are in the Cambridge University Library. In (A) the

title is followed by an address from "the publisher to the reader[1], which is wanting in (B). Then come "Briefe notes relating to the dubious and offensive places in the following considerations," by George Herbert, some of which have been omitted in (B), while the remainder, with some additions, have been inserted in their places in the margin of the book[2]. Then, the preface of Celio Secundo Curione, dated "From Basill the 1 of May. 1550;" which in (B) follows immediately

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[1] "These truly Divine Meditations or Considerations of Signior John Valdesso, a noble man of Spain (who died almost an hundred years ago), having been so acceptable to pious Vergerius, to learned Cœlius Secundus Curio, and to many other both French and Italian Protestants, that they have been translated out of the original Spanish copy, and printed three or four times in those languages; it seemeth to me a reasonable and charitable desire to print them now in English, without any alteration at all from the Italian copy; the Spanish being either not at all extant, or not easy to be found. It is certain that the book containeth many very worthy discourses of experimental and practical divinity, well expressed and elegantly illustrated; especially concerning the doctrine of justification and mortification: and yet notwithstanding there be some few expressions and similitudes in it, at which not only the weak reader may stumble, and the curious quarrel, but also the wise and charitable reader may justly blame. To have removed these few stumblingblocks, or offensive passages, by leaving them out, or by altering them, had not been the work of a translator, but of an author; besides the ill example of altering ancient authors, which is one of the greatest causes of the corruption of truth and learning. Therefore it hath been thought fit to print the Book, according to the author's own copy, but withal to give particular notice of some suspicious places, and of some manifest errors, which follow particularly expressed in the ensuing folios; referring the rest (if any there be) to the judgement of the reader He lived where the Scriptures were in no reputation, and therefore no marvel that he should speak so slightly of them; but rather on the contrary, it may seem a marvellous thing in our eyes, to have a statesman in those parts, at that time, so far illuminated and taught of God as he was. May it please the Divine goodness, that every reader may reap the like comfort and profit to his soul by it, as the translator and publisher humbly and thankfully acknowledge that they have done, and they have their main scope and aim in publishing it.

"Glory be to God on high."

[2] Great liberties have been taken with the text of (B), passages being altered or obliterated which were objected to. In Pickering's edition Herbert's notes have been reprinted from (B): a future editor will do well to compare both editions.

upon the title. Then, "A Table of the hunc considerations;" (in (B) "the divine cons.") Jackson's license for printing the book; omi Then "A copy of a letter written by Mr. Georg his friend the translator of this book;" "Bemn 29:" also in (B) with a different heading and his parsonage of Bemmorton near Salisbury. Se (B) ends with an index, which is wanting in (A). count of Valdesso see M^cCrie's *Reform. in Spain in Italy*, Pidal in the *Revista Hispano-Amer* Adolfo de Castro, *Spanish Protestants*, 1724.

*The temperate man, or the right way of preser health, together with soundness of the senses, ju memory unto extream old age. In three treatis written by the learned Leonardus Lessius. The sec wick Cornaro, a noble gentleman of Venice. T famous Italian. Faithfully Englished. London J. R. for John Starkey, at the Miter in Fleet Street Bar.* 1678. 12mo. is in Pembroke College Li bridge.—On the back of the title are the contents 37, 28, 29, 30. Then the preface[1]. Then an

[1] "To the Reader. The Preface of the Publisher of the en We do not well; this day is a day of good tidings, and we hol we tarry till the morning light, some mischief will come upon fore come, that we may go and tell the king's household:—th lepers that first came to the knowledge of the Syrians' flig deliverance: and the application of their arguments hath (in a produced more the like resolution.

"Having been a witness of the late discovery of a richer mi those which golden Peru affords, life and health, and vigor mind and body, general plenty, and private wealth, yea and asmuch as, for the most part, the conditions of the mind follo the body) being to be extracted thence with very little pain and out any danger at all: I have thought myself bound to giv thereof to the world.

"And so much the rather, as having been a spectator only debarred from that plea of modesty, wherewith the adventurer selves from the publication of this treasure. But who knoweth not in part been restrained from the credit of partnership to m good; to this intent, that I might be enforced to become the pu

Bacon's *History of Life and Death*[1]. Then R. C.[rashaw's] verses "To the reader, upon this book's intent. (*Hark hither,*

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common benefit? Surely, methinks as in some regard my want of interest in the business makes my testimony of the more validity (for who will not believe a witness giving in evidence to his own prejudice?) so it seems to impose on me a-kind of necessity of acquainting the world therewith, if happily by the promotion of others' good I may help to redeem mine own negligence. This good effect, I hope, may follow to mine own advantage upon this publication: as on the contrary I might justly be afraid of multiplying damage, and doubling punishment upon my head, for the unjust concealment, as well as for the not practising of that, which I cannot but approve most excellent and beneficial to all those ends, that a wise man and a Christian should aim at. In this regard, I hope the pious and charitable reader (and none but such I invite) will help me rather with his prayers and a fair acceptance of my hearty desires of his good, than censure or despise my want of absolute conformity to that which I exhort him unto. And thus much touching myself, and the reasons that have moved me to the publication of these ensuing Treatises.

"The middlemost of which, as it was first written in order of time, so it was in translation; and therefore I will begin with it.

"Master George Herbert of blessed memory, having at the request of a noble personage translated it into English, sent a copy thereof, not many months before his death, unto some friends of his, who a good while before had given an attempt of regulating themselves in matter of diet: which, although it was after a very imperfect manner, in regard of that exact course therein prescribed; yet was of great advantage to them, inasmuch as they were enabled, through the good preparation that they had thus made, to go immediately to the practice of that pattern, which Cornarus had set them, and so have reaped the benefit thereof, in a larger and eminenter manner than could otherwise possibly have been imagined in so short a space.

"Not long after, Lessius his book, by happy chance, or, to speak better, by gracious providence of the Author of health and all other good things, came to their hands: whereby receiving much instruction and confirmation, they requested from me the translation of it into English. Whereupon hath ensued what you shall now receive.

"It was their desire to have the translation entire; and finding no just reason to the contrary, I have been willing to satisfy them therein. Master Herbert professeth, and so it is indeed apparent, that he was enforced to leave out something out of Cornarus: but it was not any thing appertaining to the main subject of the book, but chiefly certain extravagant excursions of the author against the reformation of religion, which in his time was newly begun. Neither his old blind zeal, nor the new and dangerous profession of Lessius,

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[1] The first paragraph of which is the motto to this Appendix.

*reader*, &c.) A couplet "To the translatour," and two pieces each of four lines, "Upon the matter of the work." J. Jack-

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will (as we hope) breed any scandal or discredit to these present works of theirs, nor to the imitators of them, with any discreet and sincere Protestants. That they were both Papists, and the one of them a Jesuit, is no prejudice to the truth of what they write concerning temperance: in the prosecution whereof we ought not only to agree with them, but to seek to advance and excel them, inasmuch as the purity of our religion exacts a more perfect endeavouring after all manner of true virtue, than theirs can do. We have not therefore judged it meet, either to waive, or to disguise the condition of the authors, but rather to give notice thereof; esteeming, that as treacle is made of vipers, so from this very poisonous superstition on their parts, an excellent cordial may be extracted, for the benefit of all that truly fear God, and sincerely desire to serve Him: who cannot but make a conscience of being inferior in the practice of virtue to them over whom they are so much superior in the knowledge of the truth.

"The quality of the author being thus known, the judicious reader will not find any cause of stumbling at his commendation of some persons, or institutions, nor at his use of some kind of phrases answerable to his religion. That which was of notorious scandal, hath received correction. In those things which may receive a favourable construction, or are not of any great moment, it hath not been thought fit to make any alteration; because it could not indeed be well done without obscuring, or almost utterly dissolving the frame of the discourse.

"The names of hermits and monks are perhaps offensive to weak minds, that have only heard of the late professors thereof, and have not heard, or do not believe the virtue and true holiness of those in the primitive times. But since they are not brought in here for proof of any controversial points, but only as instances to confirm the virtue and power of temperance, for the conservation of life and health; there is so little cause of scandal to the most scrupulous-minded that can be, as it must needs be interpreted desire of quarrel and contention in any that shall sound alarm on this ground. And for the surer binding of such itching fingers (if any such shall be) to the peace, I have thought it not amiss to make use of the decree of that great chancellor of learning, as well as of the law, the late Viscount St. Albans, as I find it registered in his Book which he entitles, The History of Life and Death.

"Which, serving not only to bear me out in this particular, but summarily ratifying the whole business, I have thought fit to prefix as a general approbation; sheltering myself thereby, as upon a warrant under the great seal of learning and ingenuity.

"And so I come to the third discourse, which is added to the other, as a banquet of junkets after a solid feast. The author thereof was an Italian of great reputation, living in the same age which Cornarus did. The change of the time, and the diversity of our fashions, hath necessarily caused some alterations and additions in the English translation, to make it more denizen-

son, "To the translatour." Peter Gunning, "To his enemy the translatour," A. R., "To Lessius the author." S. J.'s "Dialogue between a glutton and echo." (*Gl.* My belly I do deify. *E.* Fie. *Gl.* Who curbs his appetite's a fool. *E.* Ah fool! *Gl.* I do not like this abstinence. *E.* Hence. *Gl.* My joy's a feast, my wish is wine. *E.* Swine. *Gl.* We Epicures are happy truly. *E.* You lie. &c.). Barnabas Oley, "To the translatour." The verses "To the reader," printed above, 64, 65 n. Then, Lessius's Dedication to Colibrant, dated Lovain, Cal. Jul. 1613. Then the "approbations" of several physicians. Then, Lessius, Cornaro[1], and "a discourse translated out of Italian, That a spare diet is better than a splendid and sumptuous. A paradox."

On Carbo see above, pp. 51, 302.

Herbert's *Jacula Prudentum* and other works circulated among the Ferrars in manuscript (above, 302, 303, 313).

Page 52. line 2. *to burn it.* added from Walton: a blank space in MS.

Page 53. n. 1. "The printers to the reader.

"The dedication of this work having been made by the author to the Divine Majesty only, how should we now

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like. If it give any delight, we have as much as we desire: although there is no reason to exclude the hope of benefiting. For however it seems to play, yet in very truth it strikes home, and pierceth to the quick.

Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?

Ofttimes lighter arguments effect, what stronger and more serious cannot do: and that is taken in good part by way of mirth, which being done in earnest would by no means be brooked.

"Thus (good reader) thou hast as much as I conceive needful to be known touching myself, or to be said touching the work. As for the practitioners, they forbid any more to be spoken of them than this, that as they find all the benefits, which are promised by Cornarus and Lessius, most true and real; so by God's mercy they find no difficulty at all in the observation of this course. They are sufficient witnesses in their own affairs, and I hold them to be faithful: and therefore making no doubt of the truth of the latter part of their report, as I can abundantly give testimony of the verity of the former, I commend both to thy belief and consideration; and so commit thee to God's grace. Dec. 7, 1633.

T. S."

[1] Printed in Herbert's *Remains*.

presume to interest any mortal man in the patronage of it! Much less think we it meet to seek the recommendation of the Muses, for that which himself was confident to have been inspired by a diviner breath than flows from Helicon. The world therefore shall receive it in that naked simplicity with which he left it, without any addition either of support or ornament, more than is included in itself. We leave it free and unforestalled to every man's judgement, and to the benefit that he shall find by perusal. Only for the clearing of some passages, we have thought it not unfit to make the common Reader privy to some few particularities of the condition and disposition of the person.

Being nobly born, and as eminently endued with gifts of the mind, and having by industry and happy education perfected them to that great highth of excellency, whereof his fellowship of Trinity College in Cambridge, and his Oratorship in the University, together with that knowledge which the King's Court had taken of him, could make relation far above ordinary, quitting both his deserts and all the opportunities that he had for worldly preferment, he betook himself to the Sanctuary and Temple of God, choosing rather to serve at God's Altar, than to seek the honour of State employments. As for those inward enforcements to this course (for outward there was none,) which many of these ensuing verses bear witness of, they detract not from the freedom, but add to the honour of this resolution in him. As God had enabled him, so He accounted him meet not only to be called, but to be compelled to this service: Wherein his faithful discharge was such, as may make him justly a companion to the primitive Saints, and a pattern or more for the age he lived in.

To testify his independency upon all others, and to quicken his diligence in this kind, he used in his ordinary speech, when he made mention of the blessed name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to add, My Master.

Next God, he loved that which God Himself hath magnified above all things, that is, His Word: so as he hath been

heard to make solemn protestation, that he would not part with one leaf thereof for the whole world, if it were offered him in exchange.

His obedience and conformity to the Church and the discipline thereof was singularly remarkable: Though he abounded in private devotions, yet went he every morning and evening with his family to the church; and by his example, exhortations, and encouragements drew the greater part of his parishioners to accompany him daily in the public celebration of Divine Service.

As for worldly matters, his love and esteem to them was so little, as no man can more ambitiously seek, than he did earnestly endeavour the resignation of an ecclesiastical dignity, which he was possessor of. But God permitted not the accomplishment of this desire, having ordained him His instrument for re-edifying of the church belonging thereunto, that had lain ruinated almost twenty years. The reparation whereof, having been uneffectually attempted by public collections, was in the end by his own and some few others' private free-will offerings successfully effected. With the remembrance whereof, as of an especial good work, when a friend went about to comfort him on his death-bed, he made answer, 'It is a good work, if it be sprinkled with the blood of Christ:' otherwise than in this respect he could find nothing to glory or comfort himself with, neither in this nor in any other thing.

And these are but a few of many that might be said, which we have chosen to premise as a glance to some parts of the ensuing book, and for an example to the reader.

We conclude all with his own motto, with which he used to conclude all things that might seem to tend any way to his own honour,

'Less than the least of God's mercies.'

[NICHOLAS FERRAR.]"

Page 55. note: read *Vindication.*

Page 56. line 9. *newly. late* MS. and so the original among the king's pamphlets, Brit. Mus. (which, by the way, certainly was not corrupted by Hearne).

Page 58. line 2. *this ensuing writing.* It occurs also in a conversation (the fourth) on temperance (Middle Hill MS. p. 140).

Page 59. line 2. *burnt it. it burnt.* MS.

——— 12. *leases.* supplied by Baker.

Page 60. line 11. *he* begged. *begged.* MS.

Page 61. line 1. *never should. should never.* MS.

——— 9. from foot. *he took. took.* MS.

——— 6. ——— *to Whom. and* t. W. MS.

Page 62. line 18. *made. strong.* MS.

Page 64. n. *Mrs. Ferrar.* "Though of so great age, at her dying day she had no infirmity, and scarce any sign of old age upon her. Her hearing, sight, and all her senses were very good. She had never lost a tooth; she walked very upright and with great agility. Nor was she troubled with any pains or uneasiness of body. While she lived at Gidding she rose, summer and winter, at five o'clock, and sometimes sooner. In her person she was of a comely presence, and had a countenance so full of gravity that it drew respect from all who beheld her. In her words she was courteous, in her actions obliging, in her diet always very temperate; saying, *she did not live to eat and drink, but ate and drank to live*[1]. She was a pattern of piety, benevolence, and charity. And thus she lived and died, esteemed, revered, and beloved of all who knew her." John Ferrar in Peckard, whose account is confirmed by the Collett letters and by his mother's portrait. Her will (dat. 29 Jul. 1628[2]. probat. 12 Jul. 1634) sets forth her wish to be buried by her husband.

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[1] A saying ascribed to Socrates in Gell. xix. 2, &c.

[2] Witnesses John and Nicholas F., John, Susanna and Mary Collett, Arthur Woodenoth.

The Gidding estates purchased by her (by indenture of sale [May 30. 1625] by Thos. Sheppard of London, merchant, to N. F. and Arthur Woodnoth) were first to be applied to paying her debts; then to be enjoyed by N. F., who was to pay Mary Collett £500, by yearly instalments of £50; this bequest, which had been promised in more prosperous times, must now stand in lieu of further aid to the Colletts, who had already received more than any other of the family now could. Mrs. F. therefore charged them "upon her blessing" not to molest J. F. or N. F. for the dispositions they had made of houses and lands in Southwark, in which she once had an interest. £50 to be added "to the portion of my grandchild Margaret Collett, because I have so long brought her up." J. F. had a rent charge of £85 out of the estate; the remaining rents were to be equally divided between J. F. and N. F. to whose loves, "if he deserved," it was left to provide for the great necessities of their brother Richard. Other bequests: Cousin Joan Collett, nephew Arthur Woodnoth, nephew John Woodnoth (or some of his children), each £10: husband's niece Mary Steed, great silver salt; her sister Wright, £4; their brother John Ferrar, £3 for a ring: Hester Holmes, £2 for a ring; as much to Ellen Harris: Robt. Bateman, a gold ring. All other goods and chattels, to N. F. in part payment of £300 and other debts. Sole executor, N. F.

Page 65. § 61. *Mr. Ferrar.* By the will (dat. Feb. 13, 1617–8) of Mrs. Mary Robinson (who founded four poor scholarships at the universities) plate, cushions &c., with the lease and furniture of her house at Mile End are bequeathed to Mr. and Mrs. F. Mr. F. is also requested to distribute a legacy of £200 among such poor people as he shall know to have need of relief. Mrs. R. is recorded in 1619 as having left by will £200 for building a church in Virginia[1].

[1] Will transcribed by Peck from a copy in Edw. Ferrar's hands; extract from *True Declaration of the present state of the colony and affairs in Virginia. By Edward Waterhouse. London.* 1622. 4to. page 51. Both transcribed in Middle Hill MS. 9527.

*Mr. Ferrar's will.*

[London the 23rd

In the Name of God, Amen. The
day of March in the Year of our Lord
tation of the Church of England 1619, &

I NICHOLAS FARRAR, citizen and
being weak in body but sound in mind a
brance, praised be God, do ordain and m
and testament in manner and form f
principally I commit my soul into the ha
God my Creator and Jesus Christ His
and Redeemer, by Whose precious dea
trust to [*receive*] remission of all my sin
life everlasting, only by faith in Him, ar
that can be wrought by man or angels.
believe, that after I am departed out
nothing can be available for me, neith
that can be wrought by man, be he nev
Jesus Christ is able perfectly to save all t
Him, seeing that *He liveth ever to make in*
like a merciful Father He calleth us
*Come unto Me all ye that travail and are*
*multitude of your sins, and I will refr*
being called, O Lord, I come unto Thee; r
for Thy mercy's sake into Thy hands, O
I leave it to be buried in the place where
to appoint; and farther that there be a
burial, if it may be, that thereby all men
to fear God sincerely and truly remembe
whither they shall: for death is the end o
my worldly goods, First, Whereas there
ginning to the erecting and founding of a
for the conversion of infidels' children unt

[1] That nothing, MS.

And my will is, that, when the said college shall be erected and to the number of ten of the infidels' children therein placed to be educated in Christian religion and civility,—that[1] then my executor shall give and pay the sum of £300 unto the company of Virginia, to be disposed of with the advice and consent of sir Edwin Sandys, now treasurer of the company, and my son John Farrar, so as may most tend to the furtherance of that godly work of the college and thereby to the advancement of God's glory. And in the meanwhile, until such time as the said college shall be erected and at least ten of the infidels' children therein placed (until which time I will not that the said £300 shall be paid or delivered by my executor unto the company of Virginia) my will is that my executor shall pay and deliver yearly the sum of £24 in the hands of sir Edwin Sandys and John Farrar, which said sum of £24 my will and desire is the said sir Edwin Sandys and John Farrar shall yearly pay by eight pounds a year to any three several persons in Virginia of good life and fame, that will undertake therewith to procure and bring up each of them one of the infidels' children, instructing them carefully in the grounds of Christian religion and entreating them in all things so christianly, as by the good usage and bringing of them up the infidels may be persuaded that it is not the intent of our nation to make their children slaves, but to bring them to a better manner of living in this world and to the way of eternal happiness in the life to come. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto St. Thomas's hospital £10; to Christ's hospital £5; to St. Bartholomew's £5; to Bridewell £5; which money my mind is shall be paid unto every one of them within six months after my death. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the poor in Harford[2], where I was born, the sum of £10 to be given and distributed amongst them within one month after my death, to every one according to the discretion of the ministers and churchwardens then being there

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[1] Than then, MS.

[2] Hertford.

and as the necessities of the poor perso
some less, to the full sum of the said £10.
the worshipful company of the skinners
brother, three or four bowls of silver plain
value of twenty marks, to be made and
months after my death, and also twenty m
a dinner or supper the same day I shall h
give unto my dear and well beloved friend
partner that was, now sir Thomas Middle
of three pounds. *Item*, I give unto my good
Middleton and Mr. Richard Wyche, each
gold of three pounds. *Item*, I give unto m
friend Mr. Robert Bateman my white silv
give unto my good friend Mr. Thomas She
ring. *Item*, I give unto my good friend M
ton, widow, my watch. *Item*, I give unto
Stead a ring of gold of three pounds. *Item*
daughter Farrar my great gilt bason and ev
unto my son John Collett and his wife my
parcel gilt. *Item*, I give unto Mary Coll
(whom I have brought up from her cra
pounds (I say, five hundred pounds) to be pa
age of one and twenty years or at the day
which shall come first: and I will that my
the mean time, till the said Mary Collett
age to receive the said five hundred pounds
dred pounds) pay unto her the sum of £3
and for her maintenance. And to the rest
Collett's children then living £20 a-piece,
them at the day of their marriage or the
twenty years, which of them shall be firs
unto my grandchild Nicholas Farrar £10
unto my son John Farrar my house where
which I bought of Mr. William Allen, lying
parish of St. Bennett Sherehogge in St.
London, to him and his heirs males for ever;
that my dear and well beloved wife Mary F

the same so long as she doth live. *Item*, I give unto my son Nicholas Farrar my house at Hertford called *the Bell*, to him and his heirs from and after the decease of his mother, who I will (during her life) shall enjoy the same. *Item*, I give unto my dear and well beloved wife Mary Farrar one third part of all my goods, which is her due by custom[1]. And I give her no more in regard I have formerly estated upon her the value of £200 per ann. And one other third of my goods I do give unto my sons Nicholas and Richard Farrar; and the other third of my own remaining (my debts paid, my legacies and all other things discharged) I do give unto my three sons, John, Nicholas and Richard Farrar, to be equally divided amongst them. *Item*, I do forgive and release unto my son Nicholas Farrar all such sums of money which he hath received in part of his portion. And I do will that my son Richard shall enjoy and receive to his own use all those debts and specialties that I have given him which his mother knows of; and further my will and mind is, that when it shall please God to take me forth of this mortal world, that there shall be no blacks given for me unto any of my friends, but unto my sons and daughter and her children: but to the poor three score and fifteen gowns, which is my age; whereof I would have [*twenty*] given to twenty poor men free of the worshipful company of skinners, and ten unto ten poor men in Hertford where I was born, the others at my wife's discretion, where she shall think good, and those of my servants that will remain one year at the least with my wife, if she will entertain them, the men-servants clothes and the maid-servants gowns of broad cloth; and to no other. And I will my body to be committed to the grave, which is the way of all flesh, in decent and comely order, and no other ways,

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[1] The same custom appears in the will of John Donne, citizen and ironmonger of London, whose will bearing date 16 Jan. 1575-6, and proved 8 Feb., orders that his property "*according to the laudable custom of that city of London*," be divided into three portions, one of which is to be given his wife, one to his children in equal shares, &c.

which I do refer the same to the discretion o
and loving wife, who hath been most loving
me always. And of this my last will and
ordain and make my son Nicholas Farrar
executor, and my dearly beloved wife Mary
son John Farrar overseers to see the same
truly performed; and I do utterly revoke a
and every former will and testament by me b
I will that this my last will now made, toget
legacies, bequests, and executor, by me here m
shall stand remain and abide for my last wil
and executor, and no other. In witness wher
under set my hand and seal the day and yea
NIC. FARRAR sealed and delivered in the
THOME SHEPHEARD, MARYE COLLETT, RICHA

Proved at London before Edmund
Pope L.L.D. surrogate, April
4. 1620.

Page 67. line 8. *whereat.* *and* whereat. M
——— 15. *never.* supplied by Baker

Page 68. line 10. from foot. *he preache*
second and particular visitation made amends
at Little Gidding in the same county: where
gregation of saints, not walking after the flesh
spirit. Let this history give glory to God i
shewing in a touch, on what religious groun
was founded: and how uncharitably suspected
happily dissolved. A family of the Farrars, th
sons and daughters of both sexes in the plural
branches of the kindred, with servants fit to b
were collected into a house of their own at Gid
purposing and covenanting between themselve
strict a way, according to the gospel of C
rules could chalk out, and human infirmity
pious design was proposed, and persuaded t
eldest son, in holy orders, bred in Clare Hall

an humble, diligent, devout servant of God, learned in the theory, more in the practice of divinity. Their house, fit for their contemplation, stood alone. All were single persons in it, to the best I could learn. The church was so near, that it was next to the pale of their yard: the easier for them that frequented it so often. The whole village of Gidding had been depopulated: or I am misinformed: the house which contained them remaining for an whole parish. The tithes had been impropriated: but were restored back again by the mother, to the use of the rector then, her own son; and to the succeeding rectors by a firm deed, as law could make, which in its time shall be declared. They kept much at home: their turns of prayer, and watching, which they observed, required it. Yet visits, perhaps once a month, they made abroad: but shunning such diversions, as much as they could, which rob us of a great part of the employment of our life. 'Non horam tecum esse potes: non otia recte—Ponere:' as an heathen complained, Horat. *Serm.* ii. 7. 112. Strangers that came to them were fairly received: all the tribe was meek and courteous, and did let none depart, before they gave them an account of their conversation, if they asked it. And withal offered to read to them, what was written in a table hanging up in their parlour, as followeth:

*He that* [&c. as in Lenton's letter in the preface.]

Their apparel had nothing in it of fashion, but that which was common, yet plain: and much of it for linen and woollen spun at home; such as modest Christians thought to be the best habit. 'Fateor vobis de pretiosa veste erubesco,' says St. Austin. *Inter. Serm. de Diver.* They gave no entertainment but to the poor, whom they instructed first, and then relieved, not with fragments, but with the best they had: and having sufficiency did abound to every good work, 2 Cor. xi. 8. Their business was, either they were at prayer, or at work; nothing came between: the devil had the less power to tempt them, that he never found them idle. They had the more leisure for work, because they fasted so much: and their diet at their meals was soon drest; beside, their daily temperance was such,

as they sat not long at them. It was not by fits, but by constancy, that they subdued their bodies by sobriety. Their bread was coarse, their drink small, and of ill relish to the taste: that it was sure they strived for nothing, that a dainty appetite might long for: as alms and fasting were frequent with them, so prayers and watching, with reading and singing psalms, were continually in their practice. Note the word *continually*: for there was no intermission, day nor night. Four times every day they offered up their supplications to God, twice in the words of the Common-Prayer in the church: twice in their family, with several petitions for their own needs, and for such as desired, upon some special occasions, to be remembered by them to God. At all times one, or more, by their constitutions were drawn aside to some private holy exercise. By night they kept watch in the house of the Lord, and two by turns did supply the office for the rest, from whence they departed not till the morning. Their scope was to be ready like wise virgins with oil in their lamps, when the bridegroom came. This was the hardest part of their discipline, that they kept sentinel at all hours and seasons, to expect the second coming of the Lord Jesus. Archbishop Spotswood tells us of the like, *Anno* 510, p. 11. That St. Mungo founded a monastery in Wales, and took order that the monks had day and night divided among them, one company succeeding another: so that there were some always in the church praying, and praising God. In which, and in all the rest, what was there offensive? Nay, what not to be admired? To leave it off, or to lessen it for the girds of lavish tongues, were like the man in the Dutch epigram, that would eat nothing but spoon-meat for fear of wearing out his teeth. God be glorified for such, whose prayers were powerful and incessant to pierce the heavens. The whole land was the better for their sanctity. They fasted, that famine might not be inflicted upon our common gluttony. They abridged themselves of all pleasures, that vengeance might not come down upon the voluptuousness of this riotous age. They kept their vigils all night, that the day of the Lord might not come upon us

like a thief unawares, that sleep in security. The whole world was the better for their contempt of the world. As Philostratus says of the Hylobii, [*of the Brachmanes. Apoll.* iii. 15. § 1], οἰκοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, οὐχ ἁπ' αὐτῆς. They were in the world, not of the world. All their practice was heavenly; a great deal of it had some singularity, by the custom of our corrupt ways, who do not strive to enter in at the strait gate, to come to blessedness.

The fame of the dispensations of this worthy family, the further it was heard abroad, the more it sounded like popery. Envy or ignorance could guess no better at it, but that it was a *casa professa*, a convent packed together of some superstitious order beyond seas, or a nunnery, and that the sufferance of it looked towards a change in religion. After the sentence of Sallust (*C.* 7. § 2), 'Boni quam mali suspectiores sunt: semperque aliena virtus formidolosa est,' a crew of bawds and gamesters might have set up a standing with less prejudice than these devotionaries. But God help us, if the best Protestants (for these may be called so) do look like papists. Had they been hired with gold, that so mistook them, they could not have done more credit and honour to our adversaries. Speak sir Censurer, we the true children of the Church of England, were we not, without departing from our own station, capable of mortification? of vowing ourselves to God? of renouncing the world? of fasting? of vigils? of prayer limited to canons, and hours, as any that say, and do not, that call themselves from St. Basil, St. Bennet, or such other institution? Not our reformation, but our slothfulness doth indispose us, that we let others run faster than we, in temperance, in chastity, in scleragogy, as it was called. The diocesan, and their neighbour to this family in a few miles, was ashamed at these scandals, which he knew to be spiteful and temerarious. He knew the occurrences of his precincts; as Apelles was wont to sit behind the pictures hung up in his shop, to hear what passengers that went to and fro did approve, or discommend. These were known to the bishop by right information, from the time that they sealed a charter among themselves, as it

were, to be constant and regular in their spiritual discipline."—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ii. 50, 51.

Page 69. line 1. *then. the.* MS.

——— n. 1. "But their heavenly-mindedness was best discovered to him, when two sons of Mrs. Farrar, the mother and matron of the household, treated with the bishop, to endow the church with the tithes, which had been impropriated: this was in Sept. 1633, as appears by a smack of that which fell from the pen of the donor, as followeth:

'Right reverend father in God,

The expectation of opportunities, having some years wheeled me off from the performance of this business, I now think it necessary to break through all impediments, and humbly to present to your lordship the desires and the intentions of my heart. Beseeching you on God's behalf, to take them into your fatherly consideration, and to give a speedy accomplishment to them, by the direction of your wisdom, and the assistance of your authority.'

The rest is too much to be rehearsed, save a little of her prayer to God in the end of the papers.

'Be graciously pleased, Lord, now to accept from Thy handmaid the restitution of that which hath been unduly heretofore taken from Thy ministers. And as an earnest and pledge of the total resignation of herself, and hers to Thy service, vouchsafe to receive to the use of Thy church this small portion of that large estate, which Thou hast bestowed upon her, the unworthiest of Thy servants. Lord redeem Thy right, whereof Thou hast been too long disseized by the world, both in the possessions, and in the person of Thy handmaid. And let this outward seizure of earth be accompanied with an inward surprisal of the heart and spirit into Thine own hands: so that the restorer, as well as that which is restored, may become and be confirmed Thine inheritance, &c.'

The bishop prayed to God that many such customers might come to him: so commended her free-will offering to God, and confirmed it. To make them some amends for their liberality to the church, he devised how to give them reputation against

all detraction. Therefore in the spring that came after, he gave them warning on what Sunday he would preach in their church: whither an extreme press of people resorted from all the towns that heard of it. In his sermon he insisted most what it was to die unto the world: that the righteous should scarce be saved: that our right eye, and our right hand, and all our fleshly contentments must be cut off, that we may enter into life. All tended to approve the dutiful and severe life of the Farrars, and of the church that was in their house. After sermon the bishop took their invitation to dine with them. But they were so strict to keep that day holy, that they left not a servant at home to provide for the table. Yet it was handsomely furnished with that which was boiled, and baked, that required no attendance, to stay any one from church to look to it. By this visit the bishop had the means to see their way of serving God; to know the soundness of doctrine which they maintained, to read their rules which they had drawn up for fasts, and vigils, and large distributions of alms: in which he bade them proceed in the name of God, and gave them his blessing at his departing. From thenceforth these faithful ones flourished in good opinion."—Hacket, ii. 51, 52.

In Middle Hill MS. 6803. art. 38. is a "Case for Mr. Morris's opinion," from the MSS. of "Jno. Caley, Grey's Inn." Here it is said that Gidding appears by a survey taken in pursuance of an act of 26 H. VIII, to have belonged to a religious house, then to have been vested in the crown, and by it granted to lay persons. When the Ferrars[1] wished to restore the church to its proper use, they had "an information filed against them by the Attorney General, to shew cause why the king should not present by way of lapse, the church be repaired, and rectory endowed." They submitted[2], and set

[1] The MS. wrongly says that they bought Gidding late in Elizabeth's or early in James's reign.

[2] Neither the information nor answer could be found, so that the whole case is rather uncertain.

out a glebe of 30[1] acres, and charged their estate with £20 a year by way of tithes. Since then the king had presented to the living and £20 a year only paid as tithes; this was stated in the purchase deeds, and during Arthur Annesley's ownership £20 only had been claimed (1767—1791). Mr. Clough, a new incumbent, had demanded tithes in kind.

Page 72. n. 2. See Lenton's letter in the preface.

Page 74. line 1. 1641. 164. MS. See however *Articles to be enquired of within the diocese of Lincoln, in the generall and triennial Visitation of the right Reverend Father in God, John, by God's providence, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, to be held in the year of our Lord God* 1641. *London. Printed by M. F.* 1641. 4to. King's pamphlets, Brit. Mus.

Page 77. line 10. *bolder. more* bolder. MS.

——— n. *proba.* read *probra.*

Page 78. line 2. *that this gentleman. this* g. *that.* MS.

Page 80. § 68. From [His answer—&c.] is Baker's summary.

Page 82. last line. *on. by.* MS.

Page 83. line 7. *which. what.* MS.

——— n. 2. Woodnoth's son Ralph was educated at Gidding. He seems to be alluded to by *the Cheerful* in the eighth Conversation (Circumcision, 1632. Middle Hill MS. 9527). "I have a story very suitable to that holy calling which he [our good cousin and guest] intends, and which I presume may be very useful both to him and other such young persons in these corrupt times."

Page 85. line 12. *requested. required.* MS.

Page 86. line 4. *apology.* supplied by Baker.

Page 87. line 2 from foot. *the time.* the *same* time. MS.

——— last but one. *of which. which.* MS.

Page 89. line 15. *it was. was.* MS.

——— 6 from foot. *friends. now* friends. MS.

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[1] An exaggeration: see Jebb, § 59 with Robinson's note. The larger glebe is now nearly 18, the smaller, near 6 acres. The tithe commutation is now £135. The statement about the purchase deeds is false.

Page 90. line 2. *he would tell.* *that* he w. t. MS.

Page 91. line 10. *such prevalent.* such *each* pr. MS.

———— 20. *came from N. F.'s.* *was in* N. F.'s.

Page 93. § 78. 1637. supplied by Baker.

Page 97. line 8 from foot. *of.* *and.* MS.

———— 3 ———— *instructed. I* inst. MS.

Page 99. n. 3. See 174, n. 1, 273 seq., 284 seq.

Page 100. § 83. line 3. N. F. *that* N. F. MS.

Page 101. n. 1. She lived at "Old Park" with her brother John, and was buried at Gidding Jan. 17, 1687–8 (*Title-deeds of Gidding estate: Register at G.*).

Page 103. line 3 from foot. *this.* *that* this. MS.

Page 104. line 2. *he enters.* enters. MS.

Page 105. n. 1. See above, 301. With n. 2 compare the extracts from the conversations, given below (notes on 273, 274).

Page 109. line 4 from foot. *esteem.* supplied by Baker.

Page 110. n. (1633.) *May* the 13*th.* "His majesty having appointed the lord Cottington, to sign all packets, set forward from London, attended by the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, marquis Hamilton, and other nobles and persons of quality. In his progress he stept a little out of the way to view a place at Gidding near Stilton in Northamptonshire, which by the vulgar sort of people was called a *Protestant Nunnery.* When his majesty came to that place, he understood that it was by the institution and appointment of one Mrs. Mary Farrar, widow, aged about eighty years (who said she bid adieu to all fears and hopes of this world, and only desired to love God) and none were permitted to reside in her house and family, but such as would devote themselves to that course of life, which she by her order had appointed, to frequent prayers at certain hours, morning, noon, evening and night-time; they were to eat by measure and drink by quantity. Within the chapel was a rich altar, crucifix, candles of white and green wax, and before they went to read prayers they bowed three times before the altar, as they went up and came down.

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*John, by God's providence, Lord Bishop of*
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Page 77. line 10. *bolder. more* bolder.

——— n. *proba.* read *probra.*

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persons in these corrupt times."

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Those that entered into that course of life with them, were at liberty to use any vocation within the house, as binding of books, teaching of scholars, others studying their books. Lastly, the foundress was pleased to add this liberty and privilege unto any that entered into that society, that if they had a mind to marry, they should with freedom have liberty to depart." Rushworth, ii. 178.

Page 111. Two of these harmonies are in the King's Library, Brit. Mus. (C. 23. e. 3 and 4). The first (dated 1635) is a copy, with a slightly different title, of the *first work*. It is a large folio, richly bound in stamped leather, gilt. The title and tables are in manuscript; in the work itself the gospels are given in parallel columns, each pasted on the blank leaves; there are also columns in smaller type, as stated in the title. Often each line of the text has been separately pasted down, yet so exactly was the cutting and placing managed, and so powerful were the presses employed, that the whole looks as though it were printed on one uniform surface. So with the plates (on which see page 201 n.): the ground has been cut away, and the plates pasted down so that the blank leaf supplies the ground, and that so *naturally*, that neither the eye nor the touch can readily distinguish the surfaces. The other is a harmony not described by John Ferrar, bound like the first, but less sumptuously. "Acta apostolorum elegantissimis monochromatis delineata:" containing also the Revelation of St. John.

Two letters from John Ferrar respecting a supply of materials for these works are given below (on p. 243).

Page 112. *Second Work.* This, with a slightly different title, (date 1637) is among the MSS. Brit. Mus. Bibl. Reg. Append. 65; it is bound like the others, and has a preface and notes, explaining discrepancies, &c. The preface, after confessing some mistakes, proceeds thus: "All which, together with all the other essential defects and imperfections of this work, as we are bound in justice and humility to make acknowledgement of, so we are in assured hope that the charity of the peruser will pass them over with allowance and pardon.

And by how much the dignity of any is greater, as we more need it, so we hope for more perfect and ample favour in this kind, inasmuch as true greatness is not greater in anything than in pardoning of human errors and frailties, and in gracious acceptance of good intents and endeavours, though they attain not the measure of that perfection which is requisite for things intended to the service and satisfaction of great and excellent dignities, and especially of supreme majesty. To which, as nothing ought to be voluntarily presented that is not absolutely perfect in its own kind, so nothing ought to be kept back or withheld that is commanded or required, be it after never so light a manner. On this last ground hath the performance of this last work been attempted, and on the former the direct and immediate presentation of it forborne."

Page 132. line 15. read *English.*

Page 149. n. This harmony, bound in *purple* velvet (like the presentation copies of the *Basilicon Doron*, and of Bacon's *Novum Organum* in the Cambridge Library), is in the library of *St. John's College*, Oxford. Peckard (208 n.) seems to doubt Hearne's correctness (*Caius*, 812), but the book is still at St. John's.

Page 154. § 134. A fragment of a longer account is preserved in Middle Hill MS. 9527. "—and accepted all in good part, and were well pleased and very merry with the coarse and homely country fare. His majesty being mounted, all repaired to horse, and the gentlewomen to the gate; where they all kneeled down, and with hearty and earnest prayers most humbly besought God Almighty, that *His holy angels might be his guide*, and that *he might be preserved from all evil both in soul and body*, and that *his return might be safe and speedy, to the comfort of himself and of all his people.* Thereat the king moved his hat to them all, and said, *Do, I pray you, daily so pray for me; and God bless you all.* The prince shook his hand at them, they crying, *God bless prince Charles;* and the palsgrave and duke bad them farewell, they beseeching God to keep in safety both his highness and his grace. And thus Little Gidding was made happy in the entertainment of

so royal and princely a company; and the h
then received have obliged them perpetuall
night to the God of heaven for the long and
king and of his children, and that they may
victorious over all who shall rise up again
Amen. Amen."

Page 150. § 132. Peck (Middle Hill M
served a fragment relating to this visit.
Little Gidding had very ill usage [on vario
because of their strict observance of the l
frequenting of sermons) termed them pur
sented them even to the king him[self] a
charge was well sifted and cleared by his
was at Little Gidding, March 164⅓. Som
fashions of Lent, Ember Days, Vigils and
year, &c. called them Papists."

Page 166. § 2. The story is more fully
letter to Ward (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6209.

(Godeby Sept. 10, 1735.) In the MS. Lif
Ferrar, Lib. I. cap. 11, it is said: "For his
his disposition in these his so young years
handsome and plain. One time his mothe
were making bands for the children, and set
them. Whereupon he came very soberly to
earnestly prayed her, that *his bands might*
*them, but be made little plain bands.— Why,*
*will you not have your bands made like the res*
*—No, I pray you, dear mother,* said he,
*little plain bands as Mr. Antony Wotton wo*
*a preacher as he is.* Mr. Wotton was then
the parlour to visit Mr. Ferrar and his wi
week, if not oftener, used to do), and he s
heartily laughed at the child's earnestness in
for he would have no nay.

This Mr. Wotton was a learned divine a
divinity lecture at Gresham College, and al
much of Nich. Ferrar when he came; posi

many things to try his wit and learning, and was wonderfully taken with the child's forwardness. And the child was ever a great observer of him, and would hearken very diligently to his discourses at all times when he came to the house."

Page 166. last line. read *bands*.

Page 171. n. 1. The following list (Baker's MS. xxxviii. 254) was "taken from a table at Clare Hall (penes magistrum coll.), and yet so far," says Baker, "from being correct and accurate, that I find it mistaken in several particulars; and yet is of some use."

Catalogue of the master and present [Dec. 1, 1617] fellows.

Robert Scot[1], D.D., dean of Rochester, sub-almoner, now Master or keeper.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert Bynge, M.A. | . . . . . M.A. | |
| Augustine Lindsell, M.A. | . . . . Aylmer, M.A. | |
| George Ruggle, M.A. | . . . . . M.A. | |
| Thomas Winston, M.D.[2] | . . . . . Paget, M.A.[4] | |
| William Lakes, M.A. | . . . . . Mitford, M.A.[5] | |
| Thomas Parkinson, M.A. | . . . rey Henshman, M.A.[6] | Earl of Exeter. |
| Nicholas Farrar, M.A. | | |
| Samuel Lindsell, M.A.[3] | . . .Mapletoft, M.A.[7] | |
| | . . . .Carter, M.A.[8] | Mr. Freeman. |
| | . . . .hman, M.A. | |

Page 179. last line. *Theophilus*, perhaps Th. Woodnoth, author of *Hermes theologus*, &c.

Page 200. line 9. *hectors*. "One *hector*, a phrase at that time for a daring ruffian."—Hacket, ii. 219.

Page 219. n. 2. "We come, O Lord, most mighty God,

---

[1] See his epitaph in Baker's MS. xxxii. 512.

[2] B.A. 1598-9. M.A. 1602. "An. 1608. Winston, M.D. Aul. Clar. incorporatus." BAKER.

[3] B.A. 1609-10. M.A. 1613. B.D. 1620.

[4] Nathan, M.A. 1613.

[5] Wm. B. A. 1612-3. M.A. 1616.

[6] "Humfrey Henchman, Chr. B.A. 1613. M.A. 1616."

[7] Joshua, B.A. 1612-3. M.A. 1616. B.D. 1623.

[8] John, 1613-4. M.A. 1617.

and merciful Father, to offer unto Thy Div
monthly tribute of that duty, which indeed w
bound to perform, the tender of our most hu
thanks for those inestimable benefits which
sinners, have from time to time in abundant
of Thy goodness, and do even unto this hour
our ingratitude and abuse of them, we ha
only the deprivation of these good things,
rigorous chastisement Thou shouldest make u
Thine impartial justice. For there is none, O
Thou hast given more abundance or greate
comforts of this life. If we should go abo
they are more in number than the sand: ther
whom Thou hast more freely conferred them ;
confess that we are not worthy of the least
And as in regard of our unworthiness, so lik
of the lowliness of our condition whence Thou
of the dangers wherewith we have been en
difficulties wherewith we have been enthralled,
cry out, Great are the wondrous works wh
done : for on every side we hear the voice of
Blessed are the people who are in such a ca
indeed hath been Thy goodness towards us,
have been disappointed in their counsels, wh
friends have been left desolate, while the me
were mighty have found nothing, while the st
side have fallen, We, O Lord, have been by Th
up, by Thine arm have we been strengthened,
counsels, and relieved by the favour of Thy
that we might know that it was Thy doing,
and means which we thought not of, Thou ha
into a wealthy place, and to these many comf
now enjoy. And although we have not any
Thy favours, yet is Thy patience extended tow
must needs acknowledge, O Lord, that the libe
hand is extended even beyond the largeness
hearts. And yet, O Lord, all this is nothing i

of that which we may farther enjoy. By how much the things of heaven do surpass those of the earth, by how much everlasting happiness is more worth than the transitory and feeble pleasures of this life, by so much more surpassing are those graces and favours with which Thou hast furnished us for the knowledge of Thy heavenly will, and for the practices of those duties, of which our conversation in this world is capable.

Thou hast given to us a freedom from all other affairs that we may without distraction attend Thy service. That holy Gospel which came down from heaven, with things the angels desire to look into, is by Thy goodness continually open to our view: the sweet music thereof is continually sounding in our ears: heavenly songs are by Thy mercy put into our mouths, and our tongues and lips made daily instruments of pouring forth Thy praise. This, Lord, is the work, and this the pleasure of the angels in heaven: and dost Thou vouchsafe to make us partakers of so high an happiness? The knowledge of Thee and of Thy Son is everlasting life. Thy service is perfect freedom: how happy then are we, that Thou dost constantly retain us in the daily exercise thereof!

With these favours, and mercies, O Lord, we ought to acknowledge ourselves most happy: we ought to be joyful in the midst of adversities, in the depth of affliction, and in the highth of distress. How much more then are we bound to Thee for Thy merciful continuance of those blessings which we enjoy! we are bound, O Lord, but unable to perform this duty as we ought; yet since Thou hast invited us, we now come to the performance thereof; to render to Thy Divine Majesty the most humble, and hearty acknowledgement of our own demerits, and Thy infinite goodness. We beseech Thee that Thou wilt enlarge our hearts, and open our mouths, that our prayers may be set forth in Thy sight as incense, and the lifting up of our hands as a sacrifice unto Thee, for the only merits of Thy dear Son, in Whose name and mediation we offer up both our prayers and praises, and together with them ourselves, beseeching Thee that they being sanctified by

Thy grace, may be every way made a
Amen."

How greatly this prayer has suffered fr
ment will appear from the following pa
paragraphs which remain of twenty-one
preserved in Middle Hill MS. 9527.

"Commemoration prayer drawn up by
enjoined to be said monthly the last day
Begun to be said in 1625 and continued
Sept. 1657, if not longer.

"We come, O Lord, most mighty God
Father, again to offer up unto Thy Divine M
tribute of that duty which we are so pe
perform, even the repeated tender of our
hearty thanks and praises for all those
inestimable benefits, which we unworthy si
an inestimable manner from time to time re
cious hands, and which we do even still
tinued favour unto this same hour enjoy."

Page 231. n. "Beyond all, her mercif
sick was most laudable: her provision of
infection, and of cordials and several sorts
of her neighbours as should need them,
to very considerable sums, and thoug
such medicinal provisions her hand was
was close enough in applying them, her
more than ordinary, and her wariness too
*Memoirs of Lady Fallland* (Gibbons's *Pic*
ii. 30, 31).

Page 243. n. 2. "I beseech you certi
how I may present my respects to your fri
donshire."—R. Busby to Basire, Sept. 20. 1
42). "Mr. Thurscross is again settled in
Ferrar with his family at Gidding; long
toft hath a good living. All remember y
affliction." Same to same. July 27. 1647.
allusion must be to the spoliation of Giddi

'Two Letters of Mr. John Ferrar's to Dr. Basire, about Bibles and Testaments, as also about the labours of the reputed Nuns of Little Gidding.

At your best leisure.

Worthy sir, That you will please to favour me with your elp and advice, how and where to procure these ensuing hings, by your own or friends' assistance.

I. All the several translations that have been since Henry the Eighth's time of the holy Bible in the English tongue. The New Testament is my chief aim. These several translations I hear to have been extant, viz.

1. King Henry's Bible, as they call it, printed anno . . . . . 1539
2. By Richard Taverner . . . . . 1540
3. By Miles Coverdale . . . . . 1550
4. By Thomas Matthew . . . . . 1551
5. By the Preachers of Geneva . . . . 1560
6. By Tyndall . . . . . 1553
7. By Erasmus . . . . . 1538
8. By the Bishops . . . . . 1572
9. By sir John Cheek, knight . . . . 1556
10. By Beza, translated by Tomson . . . 1589

Beside two Romish Translations.

And

II. All the several translations of the New Testament, which are said to be twenty in number, in the Latin tongue.

All the several that have been in the French.

All in the Italian.

All in the Spanish.

All in the Low Dutch.

All in the High Dutch.

III. To inquire if the great and stately Bible of the King of France, in the seven several languages, be come yet into England, and the price of it; if not, how it is at

Paris sold; and if the New Testam
had single, and the price of it. I su
preachers in London can inform you
can the Italian and Dutch of the abo

IV. If you could by the help of any frien
Testaments in the Cantabrian tongu
spoken in Navarre: they were printed
1571, and dedicated to the then queen
soveraine de Bearn; and in 8vo. Sor
preachers might (methinks) procur
suppose at Geneva, or Bourdeaux,
they may be had.

V. Two Testaments in the Ethiopian tongue.
Two in the Slavonian tongue.
Two in the Armenian.
Two in the Persian.
Two in the Portingal.

} They m
Testament
language,
same impr

These, or all but the last, are to be
so that Signior Burlamac, the postma
spoken to by any friend, would easily
come in the first ship that comes from
would infinitely pleasure me.

The four Evangelists translated by
old Saxon and English is a book in 4t
1570. One of these I have; but two
all sorts for my work, just alike. I h
the Cantabrian tongue already; but o
my turn, as I must use them . . . .

If so be our dear brother Thristcross shoul
so think good, that he take a copy of the title
in the other paper, which were done at Giddin
it may be some of his acquaintance of noble
desire some of them to be made for them:

divines, as deans, or prebends, &c. And it may be, there may be more occasion to shew them, upon this libel; that makes as if they did no work at Gidding, but all the time spent in contemplation, as it would make the world believe: but they may see this cost hath time and much labour every way; and it may do us much right in that thing."

"At your best and spare leisure, and when there is fitting time and opportunity for it.

Sir, I have now further taken the presumption to send you herein enclosed the titles or frontispieces of some of those works and books done at Gidding; the inventions and patterns left us by our dearest brother.

The intent and end I have in it (submitting this and all other my desires to your better judgement) is, that if you think so good to shew them to my lord of Durham, or to some other worthy noble personages; if his lordship or they might desire to have any of these made for their uses, and would bestow their money upon them, if not for their own use, yet it may be for some library, as rarities in their kinds and the handy-work of women (for their manufacture, I mean, and labour of putting together, by the way of pasting, &c.), we should be glad of the employment for our younger and elder people; and it may be if noble personages and learned knew of them, they would be casting away money upon them as well as upon other things. My lord Wharton, upon the sight of Kings-Concordance, desired to have one of an inferior kind and sort: for the king's stands us in above £100; but my lord Wharton's cost him but £37: and so much he gave us for it willingly; but it was deemed by all that saw it to be of more worth.

Well, sir, I know you love us, and would be glad in any good way to promote our affairs and employments: if you shall find that the times settle, and men grow out of these fears and doubts: I hope in God, if the bishops and Book of Common Prayer be established, all will settle shortly in a

good end: which God Almighty grant; unto Whom I recommend this and yourself, and am

Yours J. F.

But all this is but sent you that if you shall find all things to concur to do us any pleasure in this way, you may the better know how to do it, having these things by you: for no man knows what may [be] by some affected in this kind, and may so like them, that they may desire, as my lord Wharton did, to have some made; and you may by chance be able to do us a high and rare benefit, with but a word of your mouth, this way. Adieu.

If any thing of these kinds be thought of any to be of worth or rarity, and that God shall enable us to finish them, we must and shall always say; Not unto us, not unto us, but to the great God be the praise and glory, Who hath made us any instruments of these things wholly by His goodness and grace.

The Superscription { To Dr. Basier at his best leisure and fitting time."

Page 257. n. 3. In a conversation (*the fourth;* upon temperance) after some remarks on the evil tendency of epigrams, sonnets, madrigals &c. we read, "Sir Philip Sydney closeth up his works with a sonnet of recantation, and seals it with, *Splendidis longum valedico nugis.*"—Middle Hill MS. 9527.

Page 269. n. 1. "Add. MS. 5903." Now Bibl. Reg. append. No. 65.

Page 275. n. 3. Some of the stories were taken from Fox and other authors. A few extracts from the conversations printed by Hearne and from those preserved by Peck (Middle Hill MS. 9527) must here suffice.

"It was the same time when the church celebrates the great festival of the Purification, that the maiden sisters longing to be imitators of those glorious saints by whose names they were called (for all bare saints' names, and she that was elected Chief, that of the blessed Virgin Mary), having entered into a joint covenant between themselves and some others of nearest blood (which according to their several relations they

styled Founder, Guardian and Visitor), for the performance of divers religious exercises, lest (as sweet liquors are oftentimes corrupted by the sourness of the vessels wherein they are infused), there should arise in their hearts a distaste or abuse of those excellent things which they purposed, they therefore resolved together with the practice of devotion to intermingle the study of wisdom, searching and inquiring diligently into the knowledge of those things which appertain to their condition and sex: finding in themselves, and observing in others that do sincerely pursue virtue, that the greatest bar of perfection was ignorance of the truth, whereby through misapprehension many prejudicial things were embraced, and many most behoveful to their ends, and most delightful in performance, were not only neglected, but abhorred. Which having by many particulars experimented in themselves, doubting that they were alike abused in most of those things which we have received by tradition from our fathers; they determined with firm promises each to other to make a particular survey of those opinions and practices which the world recommends or disallows; weighing them not in the scales of common judgement, but of true and right reason, according to the weights and by the standard of the Scripture; wherein being excellently versed, so as they were able to repeat by heart both the book of the Psalms and most part of the New Testament, they found that there was neither action nor opinion that could be propounded, but might receive a clear solution and direction from that book.

Wherefore not upon presumption of their own abilities, but on confidence of God's gracious assistance to their humble and diligent endeavours, they agreed, every day, at a set hour, to confer together of some such subject as should tend either to the information of the understanding or to the exciting of the affections to the more ready prosecution of virtues, and better performance of all such as in their present or other course of life hereafter should be required of them.

The first proceedings, as it always happens in great attempts that have no precedents to direct, were both in form

and substance far short of that whereunto they were in the end reduced. Wherefore as artists upon the full accomplishment of their works cast away the first draughts: so silencing what was less exactly done, I shall go on with the recording of things from that time which themselves account the beginning, being about the end of May. Only by way of introduction, as porches were anciently set in the fronts of greater buildings, I will set down some passages, which may well serve for a preface to the reader for this following book; as in truth they were main arguments to the confirmation of their minds who were the actors of this and other noble undertakings.

On Ash-Wednesday therefore, although for the better suiting of their bodies to their hearts, and their hearts to the meditations of the day, they forbore the refreshment of corporal food, yet so much the more desirous to feast their minds in the fast of their bodies, meeting at their appointed time and place, together with that other company which were always auditors, and sometimes (at least one of them) partner-actors in these exercises;

The Chief began thus."—*Caius*, 713–715.

"It is a hard task that is imposed on us (most honoured grandmother, and Founder of our little academy), that we should make supply of delights to your family, for those vain pastimes of cards, and the like, which you have so Christianly deprived them of. But when it is added, that we must likewise endeavour to profit them in the way of virtue, as well as to please them; in requiring of two such things as scarce can stand together, there is made a great surcharge of difficulty of the work and pains to us. To make it a merry and true Christmas both together to your household by delightful and virtuous exercises, that they should have no cause to envy others greater liberty or better cheer, is your own injunction: but that it should be our performance, were more than we durst hope, but for the great encouragement of our worthy Guardian; who persuades us, that it will

be easily and certainly effected by the daily recounting of some good histories, whereof we ought not in truth to be unfurnished, considering the opportunity that God hath given us to grow rich in these kind of jewels: for jewels they are indeed; especially when they are well set by a graceful delivery and a seasonable application: with which two conditions could we be sure to have our stories qualified, we should indeed make no question, by giving most delightful entertainment to your whole family, to give full satisfaction to your desires and the command that is imposed on us.

But though we cannot hope so much touching our stories, yet since we have no hope by any other means than by our stories, in any part or manner to discharge ourselves of what we are bound unto, we have resolved this way to make essay; wherein if your good acceptation shall give encouragement, we shall proceed the rest of this festival: otherwise, if by this day's experiment you find our designs unworthy of your precious hours, or unanswerable to your worthy intentions, you may please, by the intimation of your dislike, to give an end unto them, and by the direction of your wisdom to set us in a better and more acceptable way.

Having thus spoken, she rose, and sang an hymn; which the master of their music played on the viol.

The hymn being ended, she with a low reverence settling herself in the chair, thus proceeded.

This song refreshing to your memories the ground of this day's solemnity, leads us of necessity (except we will make a treble disproportion, to the festival, to the music, and to your minds, which I am sure are in expectation of matter answerable to this time and this preface) to begin and end our present exercise with stories of such affections, words and actions as in and by the example of blessed St. Stephen are recommended to our imitation by God and the church."—*Ibid.* 739–741.

"The company was about to rise, when the Moderator staying them with the beckoning of the hand to sit down again, I should be sorry (said she) that we should part without

an example of this grace of meekness in some o
to which it seems more properly, at least mo
to belong than to men.

The Submiss's countenance (said the Chief)
eye to promise the satisfaction of your desires,
Moderator, if she might be admitted to bear
exercise.

I have been much troubled (said the Guar
own mind, that both she and the Obedient have
left out from that whereunto they ought to ha
pelled: I pray therefore, let us not lose the adv
occasion to bring them in. And in regard the
cannot be so perfect, let them have the liberty f
telling their stories as they can; I mean, witho
tation of any preface or application from them:
the purpose, it shall suffice. If they cannot trul
the rank with other, they shall serve apart as
plies upon special occasion that may happen."—

"Part of Seventh Conversation. St. John the
Dec. 1631.

The remembrance of the former day's ple
carried up most of the family (though after a di
than ordinary cheer) into the sisters' chamber;
(seeing himself and only one or two more left i
room) said smiling to his mother, Madam, you
that young people may be brought to take as gr
things good and profitable as in others which
useless. For I do not think any gamesters were
more earnestly bent upon their play than our fan
their stories. I beseech you therefore let us k
longer from beginning by their waiting for
Thereupon going up, they found the company
strangers) ready, talking of what they had heard,
ing their appetites for what they were to hea
sisters, having notice given them, instantly appe
the Cheerful (to whom the guidance of this day's

began by singing of the following hymn, which, as the former, was also played on the viol.

The Hymn.

1.

Teach us by his example, Lord,
For whom we honour Thee to-day;
And grant his witness of Thy word
Thy church enlighten ever may.

2.

And as beloved, O Christ, he was,
And therefore leaned upon Thy breast,
So let us also in Thy grace
And on Thy sacred bosom rest.

3.

Into us breathe that life divine
Whose testimony he commends:
About us cause Thy light to shine,
Light which no darkness comprehends.

4.

And let Thy everblessed Word
Which all things did create of nought,
Anew create us now, O Lord!
Whose ruin sin hath almost wrought.

5.

Thy holy faith we do profess;
Us to Thy fellowship receive.
Our sins we heartily confess:
Thy pardon therefore let us have.

6.

And as to us Thy servant gives
Occasion thus to honour Thee:
So also let our words and lives
As lights and guides to others be.

[Then follows an epitome of St. John's d
compared with the parallel practice of St. Paul.

"Part of the eighth conversation. Holy I
Dec. 1631.

The guidance of this day's exercise falling c
she arose and sang the following hymn.

1.

That rage, whereof the psalm doth
Why are the Gentiles grown so v
Appeared in part upon this day,
When Herod had the infants slai

2.

Yet, as it saith, they raged in vain,
Though many innocents they slew
For Christ they purposed to have sl
Who all their counsels overthrew.

3.

Thus still vouchsafe Thou to restrai
All tyrants, Lord, pursuing Thee
Thus let our vile desires be slain,
That Thou in us mayst live more

4.

So whilst we yet enjoy our breath,
We of Thy love our songs will fr
And with these innocents our death
Shall also glorify Thy name.

5.

In type those many died for One,
That One for many more was sla
And what they felt in act alone,
He did in will and act sustain[1].

---

[1] "Duo quippe sunt martyrii genera, unum in mente
simul et actione. Itaque esse martyres possumus, etiam

6.

Lord grant that what Thou hast decreed
In will and act we may fulfil,
And though we reach not to the deed,
From us, O Lord, accept the will."

[Then follow some remarks on the day "considered as a counterpoise to the many delights and satisfactions which this good time useth to afford the flesh."]

Part of the ninth conversation. Dec. 29, 1631.

"Song by the Submiss.

1.

O happy you, that have subdued
The force o' th' world's desire!
And into th' fort of solitude
For safety do retire.

2.

You fled from freedom so supposed,
In straitness freedom find,
Because true freedom is inclosed
I' th' circuit of the mind.

---

entium ferro trucidemur. Mori quippe a persequente, martyrium in aperto opere est: ferre vero contumelias, odientem diligere, martyrium est in occulta cogitatione... Joannes namque nequaquam per martyrium vitam finivit, sed tamen martyr exstitit: quia passionem, quam non suscepit in corpore, servavit in mente."—Greg. *Hom. XXXV. in Evang.* post med. Cf. Ejusd. *Dial.* iii. 26. "Habemus in beato Stephano martyrii simul et opus et voluntatem: habemus solam voluntatem in beato Johanne; solum in beatis Innocentibus opus."—Bern. *Serm. in Nativ. ss. Innocentium*, § 1. (i. 794). See Pseudo-Cypr. *de dupl. Martyrio*, Aquin. *Summ.* 3tiæ Partis Suppl. quæst. 96. art. 6. § 3, Cornel. a Lapide *on Matt.* ii. 16, Isid. *Origg.* vii. 11. § 3, and the *Christian Year* (*Holy Innocents'*). Peter of Blois distinguishes martyrdoms *in sanguinis effusione, in carnis maceratione, in proximi compassione* (*Bibl. max. patr.* xx. 1446 G.) The division into *in habitu* and *in actu* is found in Primasius and Ambrosius Ansbertus (*ib.* x. 814 B. seq., xiii. 522 D.). Elsewhere, *passio* and *compassio* (*ib.* xiii. 364 F.) *patens* and *latens*, *in carne* and *in spiritu* (*ib.* xx. 1270 F. seq., xiii. 484 D. seq.).

3.

The World and Fortune you depriv
Of doing you despite:
Dead unto men, to God alive,
Which gives life true delight.

4.

That soul, saith God, which I affe
I will withdraw apart,
And tell unto it in effect
The secret of My heart.

5.

Think then, you who retired live,
For God's dear love and dread,
His Love your souls the thirst dot
Retired lives to lead.

6.

So that with Him you may confer,
When sole yourselves you deem:
And so alone less never are
Than when alone you seem[1].

7.

Faith of your fort is governor,
Love is lieutenant there,
Hope is the ordained officer
The ensign for to bear.

8.

Contempt of wealth is treasurer,
Who works no guile for gain;
Corrupting dross ne'er enters where
He humbly stoops to reign.

---

[1] Scipio's saying in Cic. *Off.* iii. § 1, *Rep.* i. § 1

9.

Pure Chastity the charge doth take
The cloister clean to keep,
And of her thoughts the broom doth make,
Wherewith she doth it sweep.

10.

Obedience then (which sacrifice
In value far exceeds)
Is ready for each exercise,
As duty seeth need.

11.

Perseverance is centinel,
The watchword, *Watch and pray,*
Whose due observance doing well
God will with heaven repay.

Song by the Obedient.

1.

Why doth this world contend
For glorious vanity?
Whose wealth so subject is
To mutability.

2.

As earthly vessels fail
Through their fragility:
So standeth worldly force
Unsure and slippery.

3.

Characters raised in ice
Think rather permanent,
Than earthly vanities
Wasting incontinent.

4.

Shadowed with virtue pure,
But false in recompense;
At no time yielding us
True trust or confidence.

5.

To men more credit give
Who want fidelity:
Than trust to worldly wealth
Whose end is misery.

O silly ve
O mass o
O dew! (
Whence i

6.

Falsehood is fond delight,
Pleasure is franticness,
Desired vanities
Of fleeting fickleness.

To morro
Thou hast
Do good t
Whilst th

7.

Where now is Solomon
Sometime in royalty?
Or Samson with his great
Invincibility?

This world
How short
And, like
Lo, how it

8.

Or gentle Jonathan
So praised for friendliness?
Or fairest Absalom
So rare in comeliness?

Taking rev
Of long co
And leadin
Of erring i

9.

Where now is Cæsar gone
Highest in authority?
Or Dives with his fare
And sumptuosity?

This earthl
Which here
In Scriptur
To grass wh

10.

Say now where Tully is
Clearest in eloquence?
Or Aristotle, fled
With his intelligence?

And as the
The wind av
So light ' t
For death to

17.

Think that which thou mayst lose
Is not thine certainly.
This world will take again
Her gifts of vanity.

18.

Think then on heaven above
With awful seriousness;
And scorn all worldly wealth
For endless blessedness."

## Series II.

### Conversation I.

### IHS.

[The Chief begins with a confession of their remissness a conversation upon St. Luke. After a long conversation about their shortcomings the Guardian suggests (p. 10) that they should take] "the advantage which this approaching season affords of setting up a temporary authority, not for the exercise of misrule, but for the maintenance of good order; and chusing amongst ourselves a Lord for this ensuing Christmas, that it may be kept with us, not to the satisfaction of our carnal lusts, but as it was at first instituted, to our spiritual edification in grace and gladness." [The Affectionate urges them] "to go immediately to the choice, not of a lord, but of a lady; for so you have resolved, and so the constitution of our family requires: it being the female sex which exceeds, both in number and faultiness, amongst us.

*Moderator.* That we may not seem so to usurp authority, I pray you let the approbation of our dearest mother be first made known to the company.

*Guardian.* She hath, not only out of love to us and desire of our satisfaction, but out of her own judgement, given both consent and approbation in this matter. . . .

*Patient.* Since the authority we are now upon establishing is derived from her, methinks the new title should not any ways exceed the old: nor the translation be more large or lofty than the original. I should counsel therefore that, waiving the ambitious stile of lady, we should content ourselves for

our Chief, with one of those twain of Mc
which our Guardian ended with.

*Cheerful.* Verily, it would be so much
portionable to make any alteration, by how
ticular disposition of heaven, as I concei
same Christian name by baptism, but also th
by adoption, hath befallen our Chief. . . . .

*Affectionate.* In this regard, as also wi
virgin estate whereof our Chief hath made pr
is nothing more necessary than humility bc
and protection, I suppose not only the swelli
may be better waived than used and that
to the office and satisfaction of all parties w
*Mother*, which virtually includes the authorit

[Then a conversation about the compari
married and single life.]

"*Cheerful.* . . . And thongh we cannot w
as you may, yet with no less desire (by God'
follow after that which is excellent in eve
virgin estate serves better than wedlock to t
perfection, but doth not more necessarily
would not, with the whole world to boot, ta
have less interest in God by that means.
serving God better and of our firmer union u
inclines our judgements to the married condi
made up the accompt and find it clear, that
of worldly comforts to be got by marriage, exc
who look no higher than the earth, no farther

*Affectionate.* . . . For industry, therefore,
take what part you please for yourself, and
double charge belongs to us, who are by you
friends designed for wives."

Second conversation imperfect

"*Chief.* . . . For stories, which you so
resolution is, if you continue me in the place
serve for Christmas cheer. You may cashier m

but, if you hold me in, you must give me leave to govern as belongs to my profession. It must be a very sober table which a virgin sits at the head of: and they must be simple cates which are of her providing."

[She refuses the gifts offered to her, but Affectionate hands her a note from the Visitor]: "It is fit you should receive the gifts; but withal exact of every one instructions how they are to be used and ordered."

Then the Patient "arose and, kissing it, presented a rich bible to the Chief." Who after receiving it, said "... I salute it with a kiss [here she kissed it] in token of love; and put it on my head [here she put it on her head] in sign of honour; and lay it up in my bosom [here she laid it on her bosom] as an incomparable treasure. I have applied the letter without, do Thou, O my God [here she lift up the book] apply the spirit of this Thy book within."

[The Moderator, Mrs. Collett, arose, and taking three of her other children by the hands, led them up to the Chief, saying:]

I give you these now for children, whom, at the first, I brought forth brothers and sisters to you.

*Guardian* [J. F.] ... This matter serves, not only to the purchase of a double blessing from you and her father's house, but to a full repayment of that which she owes to us and our family whereinto she hath been transplanted. For I dare undertake on these terms to procure from the rest whom it imports, as I now offer from myself, a formal acquittance and release from all claims and demands which we may have against her for the board and portion which she hath divided with us, if she shall faithfully discharge what you and we require. For although you have made a more particular and full consignment of three of your own for her children; yet the extent of her motherhood is noways to be confined within those bounds, but must enlarge itself to the generality of this whole family and in particular to my three [Nicholas John and Virginia Ferrar], whom I likewise now set over to her motherhood."

["To make the gift more proportionable," the (Susanna Mapletoft) offers a seventh child; "seven be number of perfection, and by the Pythagoreans more p larly attributed to virginity."

"Then the Cheerful arose, and taking her niece daughter of Joshua and Susanna Mapletoft, by the l presented her to the Chief, to bear the name of the Huml

The Cheerful gave a bell inscribed *The bell tolls to pra and rings out for the dead.*

The Affectionate gave a watchlight. Thus, as Peck remar blessing, instead of cursing, by *bell, book,* and *candle.*]

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*A few notes may be here added, which came to hand too late for insertion in their proper places.*

*Valdesso* (pp. 51, 330 seq.). I owe to Benj. B. Wif- fen Esq. the following interesting particulars. In the Bod- leian is the French translation of 1563, not published *par Charles Pesnot* as stated by [Du Verdier ap.] Bayle, but *par Claude Seuneton.* On a fly-leaf of this book is written. *This Booke was The Right Reuerend Father in God. Austin Lord Bishop of Hereford.* (i. e. Linsell's).

And below in a different hand

*Given to the Publique Library in Oxford, by Mr. John Farrar of Huntingtonshire, September* 8. 1642.

The Italian copy in the Bodleian was presented to it by John Duncomb, Rector of Swannington, in 1639.

*Hill* (p. 74). Clarke's *Life* is taken from *The Life and Death of Dr. Hill* printed with Tuckney's *Θανατοκτασία or Death disarmed,* where we read (p. 41): "Thence he was ordered to be master of Emmanuel college in this university, which not being a sphere large enough for his activity, he was from thence removed to the mastership of Trinity college."

*Groose* (pp. 94, 96, 254 seq.) The Rev. F. Johnson, formerly vicar of Great Gidding, has kindly furnished me, through Mr. Hopkinson, with a notice of this friend of the Ferrars'. Luke Grosse's handwriting appears in the registers in 1619; in 1620 he signs himself vicar, and so without break to the year 1666. (On 26 Aug. 1621, his son John was baptized). In the vestry book his name appears from its commencement in 1654 to 19 Sept. 1666. His successor John Smith appears for the first time on Lady day 1667. Between these dates Grosse must have died, but the register has been mutilated at the place. He retained his living, it being too poor to sequester, during the times of confusion. In the parish chest Mr. Johnson some years ago discovered two parchment documents, one only of which was legible. This was dated 12 Feb. 1635–6, and signed by N. F. and J. F. as joint owners of Little Gidding. Some one had left or given £10, and some one else £5, and for this sum the Ferrars granted an annuity of £1 to be paid for ever to the poor on the patron saint's (St. Matthias') day in the church porch. From the signature to this deed Mr. Johnson made a tracing, which is here reproduced. The crossing of the F may be a little uncertain.

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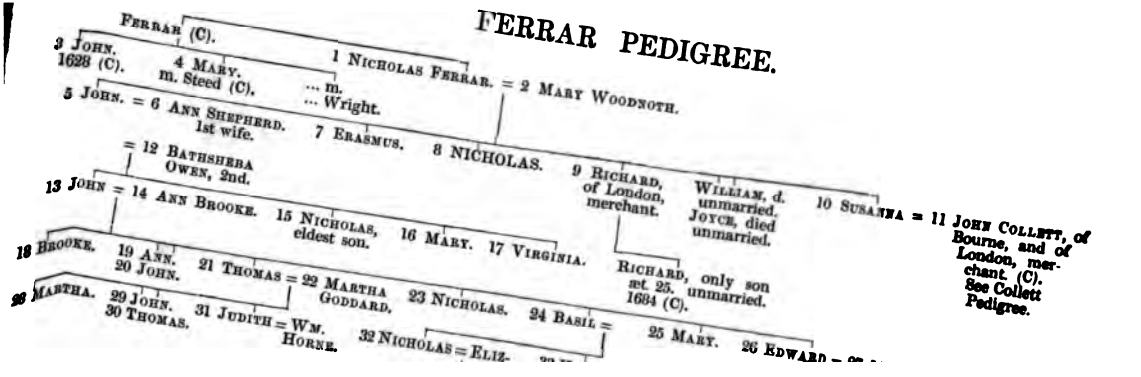
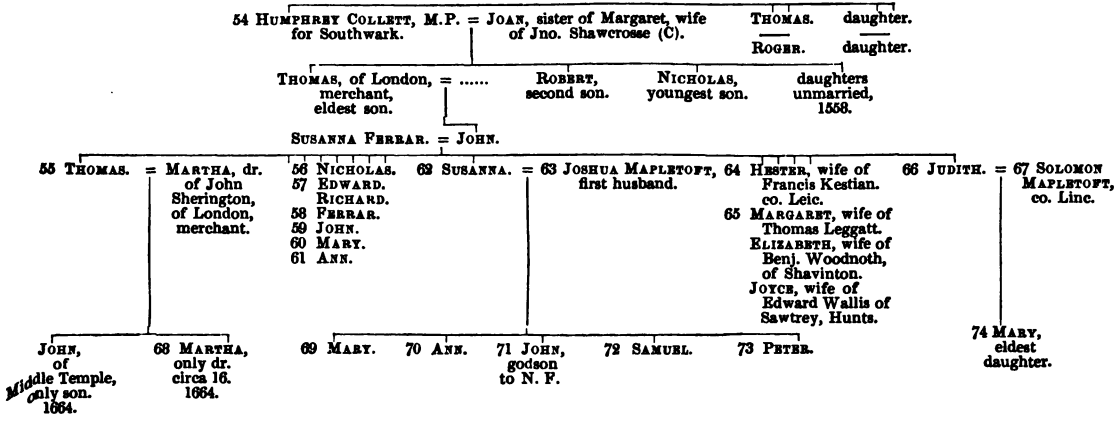
## *Notes on the Pedigrees.*

*Authorities.* The Gidding (G. R.) and Huntingdon (All Saints' and St. John's, H. R.) registers and inscriptions on brasses or tombstones at both places. (G. I. and H. I.). A

# FERRAR PEDIGREE.


Ferrar (C).
1 Nicholas Ferrar. = 2 Mary Woodnoth.
3 John. 1628 (C).
4 Mary. m. Steed (C).
... m. ... Wright.
5 John. = 6 Ann Shepherd. 1st wife.
7 Erasmus.
8 NICHOLAS.
9 Richard, of London, merchant.
William, d. unmarried.
Joyce, died unmarried.
10 Susanna = 11 John Collett, of Bourne, and of London, merchant. (C). See Collett Pedigree.
= 12 Bathsheba Owen, 2nd.
13 John = 14 Ann Brooke.
15 Nicholas, eldest son.
16 Mary.
17 Virginia.
Richard, only son æt. 25. unmarried. 1684 (C).
18 Brooke.
19 Ann.
20 John.
21 Thomas = 22 Martha Goddard.
23 Nicholas.
24 Basil =
25 Mary.
26 Edward =
28 Martha.
29 John.
30 Thomas.
31 Judith = Wm. Horne.
32 Nicholas = Eliz-

# COLLETT PEDIGREE.



pedigree (C.), chiefly of the Colletts, supplied to Mr. Hopkinson by Mr. Courthope, Somerset herald. The Gidding title deeds (T.). A pedigree (B.), lent me by Mr. Balfour, for the later branches of the Ferrars. Margaretting registers (M.) furnished by Mr. Hopkinson. It would be easy to trace the Mapletofts lower, as may be seen from the *Grad. Cant.* See also among the plates in the Royal Library, Brit. Mus., the tombs and monuments in Gidding Churchyard.

*Abbreviations.* *b.* born; *ba.* baptized; *m.* married; *d.* died; *bu.* buried; *dr.* daughter.

The figures correspond to those in the pedigree.

1. Was 75 years of age when he made his will (above, 343) in 1620: d. 1 Apr., bu. in St. Bennett Sherehog, 12 Apr. 1620. (*Funeral certificate* in Hearne's *Caii Vind.* 683). "Had a grant of crest and confirmation of arms from Robert Cooke, Clarencieux king of arms, 29 Dec. 1588." C. M. 1575 (above, 65).

2. Dr. of Lawrence W. of Shavinton, Cheshire. Her age in 1617 was 62 (above, 16, 299), i. e. 79 at her death in 1634. Yet she is said to have lived to be 83 (Peckard).

3, 4. Both mentioned, as also their sister Mrs. Wright, in the Collett Letters.

5. "Here lieth the Body of John Ferrar Esq^e. Lord of this Mannour, who departed this life y^e 28th of Sept^br. 1657. *Arms; 3 horse shoes on bend.*" G. I. on brass in church. "Flee from evil and do y^e thing y^t is right and dwell for evermore."—On the reverse of do. Æt. 30, A.D. 1620 (Hearne, u. s.) Bu. Sept. 28 (?) 1657. (G. R.)

6. D. 12 Jul. 1613, æt. circa 21 (Monument in Strype's Stow, Bk. iii. p. 28; cf. Hearne, 684.)

7. D. before Apr. 1613 (above, 177). "Erasmus and William, both barristers of the common law, that died both without issue." (Hearne, 684).

8. B. 22 Feb. 1592–3 (above, 3), not 1591–2 (above, 165): for he was 13 when a freshman (1606; B.A. 1609–10, M.A. 1613); 26 when he returned home in 1618 (Peckard, 87); 27 in Apr. 1620 (Hearne, 683); 42 (i.e. above 41) in

1634 (above, xxxii.). "Administration 26 Feb. 1637–8 to his brother John." C. Bu. Dec. 7. 1637 (G. R.).

9. Æt. 24, Apr. 1620 (Hearne, 683); still living when his mother made her will (1628); and if his son's age be rightly given, in 1658.

10. M. 1600 (above, 304). "Here also sleepeth Susanna, wife to John Collett Esquire, by whom she had issue 8 sons and 8 daughters. She was the only daughter of Mr. N. Ferrar of London, Merchant, and sister to John Ferrar Esq^e. late Lord of this Manor, who died 9 October 1657, aged 76 years." (G. I.) "Bu. Oct. 1657" (G. R.).

11. "Here lyeth the Body of John Collett Esquire, aged 72, and dyed the 29th day of March, Anno Dom. 1650." (G. I.).

12. Dr. of Israel O. of London, gent. (Hearne, 684).

13. D. 23 Feb., bu. 27 Feb. 1719, æt. 89. (G. R. and G. I.).

14. Dr. of sir Robt. B. (sir Thos. Brookes of Lubbenam, co. Leic. C), d. 8 Mar. 1702 (G. I.)

15. See above, 144 seq.

16. D. young (Hearne, 684).

17. See Index.

18. Ba. 7 Feb. 1657. (G. R.)

19. Ba. 20 Feb. 1658. (G. R.); living unmarried, 1684 (Pedigree in Hearne, 684).

20. Ba. 8 Mar. 1659, m. 23 Nov. 1714 to Elizabeth Goddard; she was bu. 4 Oct. 1727 (G. R.).

21. Ba. 24 Jun. 1663; rector of Sawtrey St. Andrew and Steeple Gidding; bu. 11 Aug. 1739. (G. R.) B.A. Pembr. 1682–3, M.A. 1686.

22. Bu. 18 Aug. 1746. (G. R.) She and Elizabeth (above no. 20) were drs. of Jas. and Eleanor G. of Marston, Wilts, which Eleanor was dr. to Geo. Long of London merchant, and d. 20 Apr. bu. 23 Apr. 1717 (G. R. and G. I.)

23. Ba. 8 Jan. 1664; d. before 1684 (G. R. and Hearne).

24. Grocer of Stamford; ba. 27 Dec. 1667. (G. R.): æt. 16, 1684 (Hearne).

25. Ba. 14 Mar. 1668; æt. 15, 1684 (G. R. and Hearne).

26. Ba. 19 Jan. 1670; bu

27. D. Aug. 20. 1717 (

28. Ba. 17 Jan. 1697, b

29. "28 May 1718, Jo
Huntingdonshire, pensioner, I
*mission Book at Clare Hall*, w
B.A. 1721–2, M.A. 1725. Vi
1738. (G. R.)

30. Ba. 20 Mar. 1706; bu.
Manor) 6 Jul. 1748. (G. R.) B..
Will dat. 16 May, 1744, prob. 3
31. M. 4 Aug. 1748 Wm. H
d. 1 Oct. 1749. (G. R. and G. I.)

32. D. before 12 Jan. 1753;
The estate was left to him "a foo
of Judith Horne, by Thos. Ferrar
St. Martin's in the Fields. His
1762. (T.)

33. Brazier of Islington, d. 19
alive 6 Feb. 1783. (T.)

34. Ba. 10 May 1753, bu. 28 M

35. D. 17 Aug. 1769, aged 74 (1
ingdon.

36. Dr. of Rt. B. M.A. d. 10
conjugii 31. (H. I.)

37. Bu. 2 Mar. 1696–7. (H. R.)

38. Bu. 7 May 1700. (H. R.)

39. Ba. 30 May 1700. (B.)

40. Ba. 21 Jan. 1701. (B.)

41. Ba. 30 Dec. 1703, d. Sept. 177
3rd Caryer; 4th Barnes, by whom he ha
ander, who had issue William, Henry, a
was living at Thrapston in 1833. (B.)

42. M. Castel Sherard Esq., 16 June

43. B. 15 Oct., ba. 4 Nov. 1729. (H.
legacies to Mrs. Bowles and Mrs. Clyde,
Ivory F.; and to John F. of Stamford St. M

44. D. 9 Sept. 1795. Will proved 26 Feb. 1798. (B.)

45. B. 3 Feb., ba. 22 Feb. 1732, bu. 10 Jun. 1800. (H. R.)

46. B. 9 Feb., ba. 20 Feb. 1733. (H. R.) Bu. 15 Aug. 1737. (G. R.)

47. B. 27 Jan., ba. 21 Feb. 1734, d. 8 Apr. 1767. (H. R. and H. I.)

48. B. 6 Mar., 1735–6, ba. 30 Mar. 1736. (H. R.)

49. B. 19 Jan. 1738–9, ba. 14 Jun. 1739, d. 15 Jun., bu. 17 Jul. 1765 (H. R. and H. I.)

50. B. and privately ba. at Hemingford Grey, 8 Nov. 1740; publicly ba. at Huntingdon 1 Dec. 1741; bu. 21 Oct. 1779 (H. R.)

51. Ba. 9 Nov. 1737 (H. R.). D. at Calcutta unm$^{d}$.; admin$^{n}$. granted to his father 12 Nov. 1767. (B.)

52. Ba. 14 Sept. 1739 (H. R.). M. at Limerick 23 Aug. 1757. Wrecked off the Havannahs; admin$^{n}$. granted to his widow 11 Aug. 1763. His son Hugh bu. at St. Mary's Huntingdon, 11 Nov. 1765. His dr. Rosetta b. in Ireland 8 Mar. 1761, ba. at St. Mary's 3 Jun. 1774, d. 1841. Her husband E. H. of London d. 1827. (B.)

53. Still living.

54. Citizen and bowyer of London. Will dat. 4 Oct. 1558, prob. 14 Dec. 1558. (C.)

55. Of Highgate Middlesex and of the Middle Temple 1663. (C.) See the Collett Letters respecting his marriage.

56. Of London, goldsmith, m. Jane Smith of co. Chester. (C.) See Collett Letters.

57. M. Johanna Thomas. See Collett Letters.

58. See Index.

59. John and Richard are only mentioned in the Collett Pedigree.

60. Bu. 9 Nov. 1680. She and her sister Anna (61) resolved by N. F.'s advice to lead a single life. See Index.

62. "The remains of Susanna Chedley, first to Josuah Mapletoft wife, afterwards to James Chedley, dr. to John and Susanna Collett, who exchanged this life for a better on the 31st day of Oct. in the year of our Lord 1657, and of her

pilgrimage fifty and five. Vitam bonam Mors aut bona excipit aut nulla." (G. I.)

63. Bu. 1635. (M.)

64. M. to Kestian (not, as C., Trestian). Several Kestians appear in Nichols's *Leicestersh.* vol. ii.

65, 66. See Index.

67. Younger brother to Joshua; he had a living in Hunts. (Ward's *Gresh. Prof.* 273).

68. See Index.

69. Ba. 16 Aug. 1629 (M.) See Index.

70. See Index.

71. B. 15 Jan. 1631, ba. 19..., 1631. (M.). See Index.

72. Ba. 16 Sept. 1632, bu. 8 Nov. 1632. (M.). See Collett Letters, 116, 119.

73. Ba. 29 Jun. 1634. (M.). See above, 301.

74. D. 14 Jul. 1656. (Brass in Gidding church, with Collett and Mapletoft arms.)

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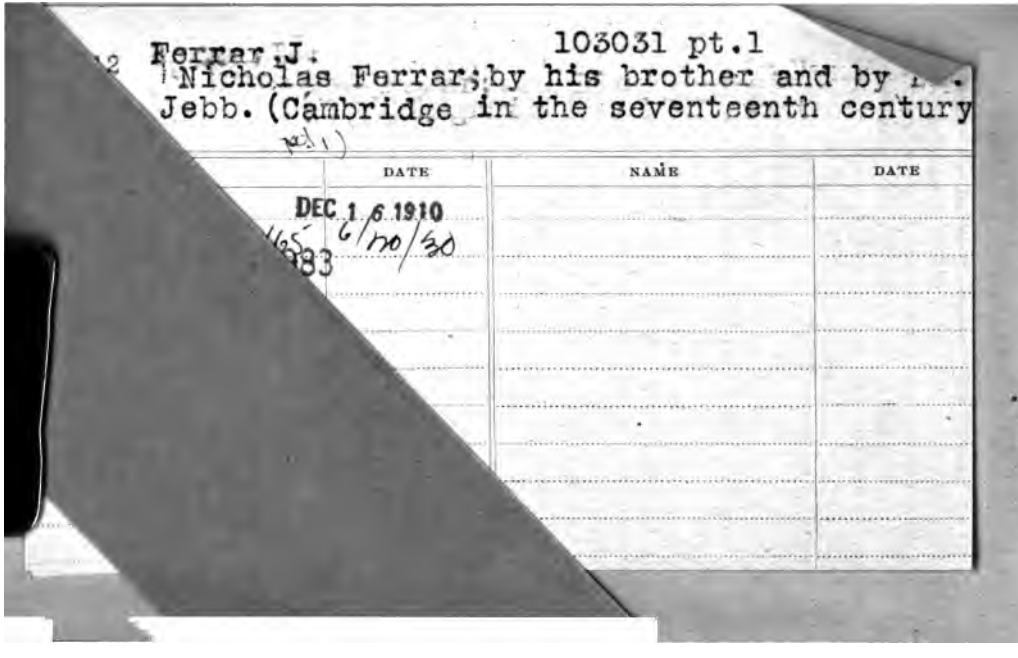
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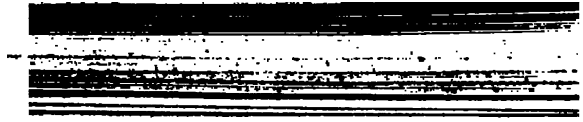

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